

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE, THIRD DIVISION, FIFTH ARMY CORPS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.
NEAR FALMOUTH, VA., FEBRUARY, 1863.
COL. P. H. ALLABACH COMMANDING.

HISTORY
OF THE
131ST PENNA. VOLUNTEERS,
WAR OF 1861-5.

BY CAPT. JOSEPH R. ORWIG.

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HISTORY

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CHAPTER I.

THE 131st Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, was recruited from the following counties: Lycoming, Northumberland, Union, Snyder and Mifflin; the companies being from the following towns: A, from Lewisburg, Mifflinburg and vicinity; B, Watsontown and vicinity; C, Shamokin, Sunbury and vicinity; D, Lewistown and vicinity; E, Milton and vicinity; F, Selinsgrove, Middleburg and vicinity; G, Williamsport; H, Muncy and vicinity; I, Williamsport and Jersey Shore; K, Lewistown and vicinity.

THE GREAT EMERGENCY OF 1862.

The excitement incident to the organization and equipment of the troops and their departure for the seat of war, in 1861, under the first call of President Lincoln, was, if possible, intensified a year later, when a call for 300,000 men was made. It was a very dark day in the history of our country. The defeat of the Union troops under McDowell, at Bull Run, was followed by the greater disaster, the defeat and retreat of the army under General McClellan on the Peninsula, after a series of battles in front of Richmond. Political dissensions also loomed up in threatening magnitude to dishearten the national leaders, and correspondingly elevated the hopes and redoubled the energies of the rebels.

In the efforts which followed the great uprising after the battle of Bull Run, previous calls had taken away most of our young men, and those most ready and willing to enlist, so that

this call for more men required still greater sacrifice, and the appeal came to men whose environments, family and business ties seemed to forbid their going. But in the face of defeat and notwithstanding unfortunate partisan influences, the call to duty could not be resisted, and greater sacrifices must be made by the men who would respond to the call to save our imperiled country.

The call of July, 1862, for 300,000 men, was supplemented by an arrangement which provided for the enlistment of men for a period of nine months. To expedite organization, men were offered commissions who should recruit a certain number of men. Under this call the 131st Regiment was recruited.

RECRUITING FOR THE WAR.

When the President's call for volunteers was made in July, 1862, the writer, who had previously served as a private in the three months' service, placed his newspaper interests in the *Mifflinburg Telegraph*, then just recently founded, in the care of a trusted and competent partner, the late Charles E. Haus, and hastened to Lewisburg, where great excitement then prevailed and strenuous efforts made to hasten the filling of the quota for the county. A conference resulted in an agreement that J. M. Moyer should recruit the captain's quota, and J. R. Orwig and Joseph W. Kepler the first and second lieutenant's, and that we should assemble at Lewisburg as speedily as possible, and thus harmoniously and quickly organize a company, which was the full quota for the county. This was done, and the company officers were mustered, bearing date August 6th, 1862, by Captain Lane, of the Twelfth United States Infantry, at Harrisburg. The other companies in quick succession. Throughout Lycoming, Northumberland, Snyder and adjoining counties, where the other companies who were to become members of the 131st Regiment, these devoted and patriotic home supporters of our government and its great armies in the field, gave their time and their means, their sympathy and encouragement to the cause, and by their care for the dependent ones, deprived of their natural support, stood by the soldiers and performed a grateful and patriotic service in behalf of their country, second only to that of the men who took their lives in their hands and went to the front, and met and overcame the enemy, and preserved our beloved Union. These home scenes among the people, when our armies were recruited, present a vivid section of the greater picture—the great uprising of a nation, wrestling successfully with treason, and rising greater and stronger from the conflict, giving lustre

and reflecting imperishable renown upon the United States, and elevating her to a leading rank among the great powers of the world. At these recruiting scenes fathers and mothers were giving their sons for the battlefield as nobly as any recorded in classic song or story. Death stood in their presence, for the daily papers were then filled with long lists of killed and wounded in the battles, down where the armies were meeting in the conflict, some of whom were comrades and playmates of the men who were enrolling their names for the Army of the Potomac in the 131st.

A year of war had passed, and we were beginning to realize that the battlefield was now the great Supreme Court where should be finally determined, not only the perpetuity of the Union, but also the question of human slavery.

This insidious enemy—slavery—seemingly secure in the folds of the Constitution and our laws, was warmed into life and activity by its devotees, and now, viper-like, it was striking its fangs into the vitals of the Republic. But this overt act also placed it outside the protection of the seemingly unchangeable law, and it was committing *felo de se*. Abraham Lincoln saw and he sealed its fate forever by his proclamation. Thus a long-suffering and trusting and hopeful people were led by a Providence in a way they knew not, through this great national convulsion, to a better, loftier and more enduring place among the nations of the earth.

Troops were hurrying to Washington, and the scenes along the great highways of railroad travel presented an intensely interesting object lesson. It was a panoramic view, upon a scale of great magnitude never before recorded. This new American Republic springing to arms in a fratricidal war! Passenger cars failed utterly to fill the requirements of transportation, and box cars, platform cars, and anything available, were quickly brought into requisition by the great makers and movers of commerce—the railroads—and the new lives who were voluntarily offering their services were whirled away to the conflict.

All the men did not always rise to the necessities of the occasion, and there was no little complaint at times, especially by the recruit who probably had never been in a railroad car before. They reasoned, doubtless, as they were giving themselves willing sacrifices upon the altar of their country, they ought to be carried to the war "on flowery beds of ease," or at least in first-class passenger cars.

The railroads through our several counties—the Pennsylvania and the Northern Central—were representative arteries which throughout the North were pouring in men and treasures from East and West, and we were now about to step into this great vortex. The people along the railways, in every city, town and hamlet, exhausted every conceivable method of patriotic demonstration, in order to show their loyalty and to indicate a hearty “good bye” and a “Godspeed” to the valiant ones who were going to the front to aid our armies and to subdue the rebels and save the American Union. Lewisburg was the home of our Secretary of the Commonwealth, the Hon. Eli Slifer, in whom the officers and men of the 131st had a friend at court, in all matters pertaining to the enlistment of troops and their care and success. Transportation and every necessary arrangement for our speedy arrival at Harrisburg had been made by those in authority.

THE REGIMENT AT HARRISBURG.

These were strange sights and experiences for the new volunteers, just from their quiet farm and village homes and peaceful pursuits in Central Pennsylvania. Camp Curtin, then about two miles north of Harrisburg, was Pennsylvania's great military rendezvous throughout the war, and it was now experiencing one of its periods of special activity, under urgent calls of the President and the Governor, to which the men of the 131st were responding.

Twenty-one regiments—Pennsylvania's quota—were to be organized and sent at once to the army in the field. The recruits were pouring into this great military camp, severally and by companies and regiments, as the result of the efforts as detailed, throughout other counties of the State, of which our recent experience, up in the heart of our State, was only a representative scene.

It would be difficult to imagine the thoughts of these men as they mingled with the great mass. As the scenes are recalled in fancy the pen would make but a sorry picture, if the attempt were made, or set forth on the printed page. They came from the farm, from the store, from the school-room, and represented all the various vocations of life. The law student, the miner, the theological student, the craftsman, the manufacturer and the laboring man—all voluntarily relinquishing homes—and their individuality, even—and henceforth “according to size” they would “fall in” and stand together, shoulder to shoulder, “obey orders,” and in the fiery ordeal of battle would save the country from the enemy of our flag. And it is

wonderful how easy such a condition becomes, under such circumstances, and is of interest, also, as a social problem. Here caste and poverty alike were eliminated. Henceforth the rich and the poor, the divinity student and the miner, the law student and the laborer, the city lad and the farm boy—all submitted willingly and cheerfully to a "detail" to perform any duty assigned, from the most menial service to the most heroic. Side by side they will dig trenches or bury a mule; picket an outpost, or make a bayonet charge upon the enemy; perform clerical services at a general's headquarters or be cook for the company, and as all the soldiers know, the labor was sweetened by the patriotic sense of duty. Not only these soldierly duties were thus performed, but, as it was subsequently well established, that almost every one of these Northern volunteer regiments' soldiers could be depended upon to furnish a detail to hold a court, build a railroad, man a boat, print and edit a newspaper, operate a mine or cultivate crops; or, indeed, perform any or all service necessary to the government, which the exigency of the war for the Union might possibly impose upon them.

We all entered upon our tent lives with avidity. Camp kettles and canteens, camp fires and rations, all was novelty, but right merrily did all take hold and most successfully did these men adapt themselves to their new relation. But home and friends and "the gal I left behind me" were now relegated to the inner consciousness, and the camp, the duty of the soldier, with all the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war," alone should henceforth be manifest and give tone and prompt the actions of the new citizen soldiers.

The first duty, now that we were snugly in camp, seemed to require that the company organizations should be completed. The first days spent will be remembered by officer and men as presenting many interesting incidents, the details of which would lend interest to these pages could the stories be told.

Some of these are submitted which occurred in Company A, and were repeated with variations in each of the companies so soon to become associated in the 131st.

IT WAS ALL SO NOVEL.

Most of the men were not much over eighteen years of age, and a number of them were younger. How they expected to pass the mustering officer, and how they subsequently did pass, it is not recorded. None were put down as less than eighteen, and one—William Dollard—was put down at forty-five. He must have been nearer fifty-five. But eighteen and forty-five were

the limits as to age. Notwithstanding youth, the tenderness of the home-leaving, or the gravity of the new relation—a volunteer soldier—many of them for the first time beyond the farm or their village homes, the “boys” gave themselves alike to duty and the lighter pastimes of the camp, as merrily, seemingly, as the very kittens at play. It was all so novel. Housekeeping by camp fires, and the tents, and every one his own cook, laundryman and housekeeper, and withal an American soldier, sworn to obey nobody and nothing save the Constitution and the officers! Henceforth they must respond to every call, for any duty required. They must “fall in”—how familiar that command became—and according to size, without a question, regardless of wealth, character, fitness, social or “other previous condition.”

The school of the soldier and of the company—what the respective duties and how shall they be performed? These were exercising the minds of the thoughtful and those who were responsible. The new sergeants and corporals, the private soldiers and the commissioned officers, all in a sort of “town-meeting”-like manner, determined for the first time upon the place of each—officer and private, from the highest rank to the shortest private at the end of the ranks. Thus companies and regiments were first formed, and appeared in “magnificent array” on the company grounds. What a train of memories now are started as we glance over the muster rolls, and contemplate the proud record which they made!

Many amusing incidents probably ought to be recorded to indicate the way the men deputed themselves. It was not in the mind of any one present, probably, to make a note at this time, for that purpose, and it has been found that now, after the lapse of so many years, it is difficult to gather the experiences from the actors themselves. What was going on in the Union county company was probably nearly a representative case for many of them, wherever regiments were recruited.

When this company was formed for the first time it was found that the tall men, who were modest, had to be ordered to the front, and the small ones who had been bold, had to be ordered to the rear. Sergeants and corporals of various sizes had been chosen, long and short ones, so that when its officers for the first time got them into ranks, and every one, including the officers, found their places, and the company stood in line—our first formation—it was such a gratifying success that soon all the little misunderstandings and disappointments incident thereto, were either entirely forgotten or never spoken of again. None of the men, probably, ever forgot the examining officers, as

their unceremonious and seemingly heartless and rude methods were unfolded to every member of the companies. They were probably excusable, but their hurried demand upon the recruit that he should appear before them just as Ham saw his father, was not a little shocking, and their hurried examinations and the wonderful evolutions through which they passed them, were bewildering, and their several experiences were long sources of jest and merriment, even to the day of muster out. One man was rejected. The woe-begone look of private William Bordner indicated how greatly he was disappointed when he returned and reported that he had been rejected. He was a first-rate young man, determined to go, and he shed tears of disappointment because he had recently scalded his foot with molten iron, and for this cause he had been declared incapacitated. He begged that we should intercede for him, and after an interview with the examining officer he agreed to a re-examination. The man was, in all other respects, so well fitted, that although they feared, they nevertheless yielded to his appeals and permitted him to pass. He did excellent service and was a good soldier, but that recreant foot got him into trouble. On a forced march in Virginia, when his company was detailed to conduct an ammunition train through the enemy's country, the foot began to inflame and soon placed him *hors du combat*. He was compelled to fall out, no ambulance or other escape available. We left him most reluctantly, and he was soon picked up by the rebels, who were hanging upon our rear, and he became a prisoner to the "Johnnies." After many months he was exchanged, and being incapacitated for further service, he was honorably discharged.

How the men got their new uniforms, and how they got into them, will be among the amusing incidents which none of them can ever forget. All found out that for their comfort, as well as for appearance, it was necessary to seek exchange of goods, and many exchanges were necessary before all were fairly fitted, for every soldier drew a uniform just as he drew a musket or a ration. The companies were marched to the quartermaster's department to be uniformed—caps, blouses, pantaloons, underclothing, shoes and stockings. It proved an eventful day. The department was a busy place, as may well be supposed. Rush orders for 24,000 men, to be rigged out cap-apie, all in a hurry to be off on important business—to Washington and the South! Business had necessarily to be expedited, and the clerks had become expert salesmen. They just took the muster roll of the companies, and, as each name was called, the bill was charged against the soldier, and the whole

outfit was most unceremoniously flung at the astonished man. The boys said the suits were all one price and were "all wool but the buttons, and they were of rams' horns," a witticism which became common during the war whenever and wherever clothing was issued to the men. It required but a short time to supply a company, but it was a sight! That instantaneous change from citizen to soldier. A cap would fall to a diminutive recruit which would cover his head below the ears, or shoes that were too large or too small; pantaloons that were too long or too short, and coats too wide or too narrow. The men only had time to get out of their citizen suit and get into the military tacklings. What a ridiculous transformation as each emerged in the lot which he had drawn! Then there was a hustling for exchanges. The ill-fitted latitudinous ones sought out the ill-fitted spare ones. The tall men with short pantaloons sought for the short ones with the longer ones; the big heads with the small caps for the little heads with the big caps—each sought the other to find the goods of his size, and there was no end of the merriment occasioned by the highly ludicrous occurrences of that hour or two when we were uniformed. But all were ultimately nearly fitted, and probably only one who could not get shoes large enough. His case was remedied, temporarily, in a very simple manner—by cutting off the shoes an inch or two, thus liberating his imperiled toes. The captain later on put in a special requisition for one pair of shoes—size 16!

Then express packages flew thick and fast homeward—they were the citizens' clothing, which would henceforth be "contraband" in the knapsack of the soldier campaigning down in Dixie, and would be dangerous in the possession of a good soldier.

FORMING THE REGIMENT.

Camp Curtin did not present a striking resemblance to West Point or Annapolis. Officers of various rank—from generals to lieutenants and sergeants and corporals, in squads, sections, and by companies and regiments, were busying themselves in camp, morning, noon and night, in the intricacies of their duties, the position of the soldier and the various movements, steps, changes of direction necessary in drilling. At the same time the organization of a regiment representing the interior or central portion of the State, was agitating the minds of the aspiring ones, and the authorities, and a keen rivalry, often reaching an intensity not unlike that to be seen upon the eve of a political State convention, when candidates are to be chosen as standard bearers of the dominant party of the State.

The Union county company had friends at court. The Governor and the Secretary of the Commonwealth were personally acquainted with many of the men, whose parents were their friends and neighbors. Their early arrival also entitled them to first place in a new regiment of the central counties.

All were looking forward to an early departure for the seat of war, down in Virginia. The cities of Philadelphia, Allegheny and Lancaster counties seemed to be receiving consideration first in the matter of regimental organization and transportation southward. But the association of ten interior county companies upon the parade grounds, now indicated that the organization problem had finally been solved. The grouping, geographically, also seemed to be a natural association, and indicated an agreement having the good of the service only in consideration. The Union county company, Lieutenant Orwig commanding, was at the right of the line, and with us were nine other companies—the first formation of the 131st Regiment—representing our neighboring counties of Lycoming, Northumberland, Snyder and Mifflin—one company each from Union and Snyder, two from Mifflin, and three each from Lycoming and Northumberland. The Union county company claimed to represent the home of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, and it was given the place of honor, and was henceforth to be known as Company A. The other companies of the new regiment were first placed according to the following arrangement, and were so recorded in the adjutant general's department, upon the records at Harrisburg: Company B, Capt. Joseph S. Waream, of Lewistown; Company C, Capt. David Bly, of Watsontown; Company D, Capt. Thomas R. Jones, of Sunbury; Company E, Capt. David McManigal, of Mifflin; Company F, Capt. Isaiah B. Davis, of Milton; Company G, Capt. George W. Ryan, of Middleburg; Company H, Capt. Charles B. Davis, of Williamsport; Company I, Capt. Benjamin F. Keefer, of Muncy; Company K, Capt. Frank T. Wilson, of Jersey Shore. This formation, however, was not maintained, and the change led to considerable confusion throughout the service, and subsequently. In the final adjustment, after all rivalries ceased, and all the questions of rank and position were harmonized, the roster was made up as follows, and the regiment received the numerical number 131 of the line, with the following field, staff and line officers, in the order indicated, and in which order they served throughout their term of service:

Colonel, Peter H. Allabach, of Harrisburg; Lieutenant-Colonel, William B. Shaut, of Williamsport; Major, Robert

W. Patton, of Lewistown; Surgeon, John F. Huber, of Lancaster; Adjutant, Samuel H. Pollock, of Milton; Quartermaster, C. J. A. Chapman, of Luzerne; Assistant Surgeons, L. R. Kirk, of Chester, and David J. Evans, of Berks county; Chaplain, C. W. Sanders, of Selinsgrove; Sergeant-Major, R. S. Parker, of Lewistown; Quartermaster-Sergeant, William F. Thompson, of Williamsport; Commissary-Sergeant, Henry M. Edwards.

Company A.—Captain, Jacob M. Moyer, of Lewisburg; First Lieutenant, Joseph R. Orwig, of Mifflinburg; Second Lieutenant, Joseph W. Kepler, of Lewisburg.

Company B.—Captain, David Bly, of Watsontown; First Lieutenant, Joseph G. Hutchison, of Watsontown; Second Lieutenant, Joseph M. Irvin, of McEwensville.

Company C.—Captain, T. R. Jones, Lewisburg University; First Lieutenant, Joseph Reeder, of Shamokin; Second Lieutenant, Andrew N. Brice, of Sunbury.

Company D.—Captain, David A. McManigal, of Mifflin; First Lieutenant, David B. Wilson, of Hartleton; Second Lieutenant, D. D. Muthersbaugh, of Lewistown.

Company E.—Captain, Isaiah B. Davis, of Milton; First Lieutenant, William A. Bruner, of Sunbury; Second Lieutenant, William H. Wolfe, of Lewisburg.

Company F.—Captain, George W. Ryan, of Middleburg; First Lieutenant, Lewis Miller, of Globe Mills; Second Lieutenant, Jeremiah Snyder, of Selinsgrove.

Company G.—Captain, Charles B. Davis, of Williamsport; First Lieutenant, James M. Wood, of Williamsport; Second Lieutenant, George W. Jack, of Williamsport.

Company H.—Captain, Benjamin F. Keefer, of Muncy; First Lieutenant, Robert S. Maxwell, of Muncy; Second Lieutenant, De La Green, of Muncy.

Company I.—Captain, Frank T. Wilson, of Jersey Shore; First Lieutenant, James M. Wolf, of Waterville; Second Lieutenant, Albert D. Lundy, of Williamsport.

Company K.—Captain, Joseph S. Waream, of Lewistown; First Lieutenant, Grant F. Waters, of Lewistown; Second Lieutenant, David B. Weber, of Lewistown.

Colonel Allabach was a citizen of Harrisburg, a dentist by profession, and had been in the service in the war with Mexico. His commission bore date of August 16, 1862.

Lieut.-Col. William B. Shaut was a resident of Williamsport, and by occupation a journeyman tailor.

Maj. Robert W. Patton, of Lewistown, was a jeweler, and engaged in mercantile pursuits.

Adj. Samuel H. Pollock, of Milton, was a student, the son of ex-Governor James Pollock.

The quartermaster and surgeons did not join the regiment until some time after our departure from Harrisburg. Captain Moyer, of Company A, was detailed as quartermaster, and subsequently in the commissary, and continued to serve in these positions, with brief intervals, during the time he remained with the regiment. His brother, George W. Moyer, was appointed commissary sergeant, but was discharged soon after the captain left the service. Captain Moyer was tendered the position of quartermaster, but declined and sought the position in the commissary in accordance with his rank as captain, the official rank of a quartermaster being that of a lieutenant.

The turmoil incident to the organization of companies and regiment, and all the regiments of Camp Curtin, was now happily over, and was quickly forgotten in the greater events which were so soon to occupy the attention of the new soldiers on the great battlefields of recreant old Virginia.

CHAPTER II.

OFF TO THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

“ORDERS FOR WASHINGTON!” This was the cry that rang throughout our camp on the evening of the 17th of August, and it only required a look to convince you that something important had taken place, from the hurried movements of men and the gathering of crowds in company streets; and then cheers were soon heard from every direction, and it was known that orders had been received at regimental headquarters for our immediate transportation to Washington to join the gathering armies at the National Capital. The military situation in Virginia was alarming, and was the exigency which so hurriedly demanded these large levies, aroused our State to such enthusiasm and necessitated the first steps toward a draft in order to carry on the war. General McClellan had failed in his advance upon Richmond by way of the Peninsula, and the Army of the Potomac was massed in a defensive attitude at Harrison’s Landing, on the James river. His battles are known as the seven days’ battles, commencing on the 25th of June, 1862, and ending on the 1st of July. General McClellan’s attitude towards the President and the War Department; the menacing attitude of Great Britain and France; the activity of the rebel agents to secure foreign intervention; the discouragements of defeat and the threatened resistance to enlistments and the draft in New York and elsewhere, all conspired to give the most serious alarm at Washington and to the loyal citizens throughout the North. Generals Fremont, Banks and McDowell were so placed as to constitute the defense of the Capital upon the movement of the Army of the Potomac to the south of Richmond. General Pope had command of three army corps extending their lines from Fredericksburg up to the Shenandoah valley. These extended Washington defenses were now in danger of being overwhelmed, as was feared at Washington, by the rebel army under Lee. McClellan’s retreat rendered co-operation of the Union armies impossible. The country was in a state of intense excitement and alarm.

The same day, August 3, General McClellan was ordered to withdraw his army from the Peninsula, via the James river and the Chesapeake bay to Aquia and Alexandria, on the Potomac. But on the 15th of August, and before McClellan began to leave the James, the rebel army under Lee had been divided,

the Richmond wing to guard against McClellan, and the main body to move overland one hundred miles north, and was threatening to overwhelm General Pope before the Union armies could be united. On the 18th of August, the day the regiment left Harrisburg for Washington, General Pope's entire line was compelled to retire before General Lee. The main body of McClellan's army evacuated the camp at Harrison's Landing on the 17th, and embarked at Williamsburg, Yorktown, Newport News and at Fortress Monroe, on the 20th. This was what a bird's eye view of the situation at the front disclosed. It was a crisis in the war for the Union never again equalled in importance and magnitude of dangers, and it required no prophetic vision to foresee that our new regiment would find serious work ahead.

We learned to look upon marching orders in a somewhat different light later on. Although, such was the monotony of camp life, that soldiers were unusually eager for a movement of the army, notwithstanding the dangers which it implied.

The few weeks of preparation in Camp Curtin had been effective, and it was remarkable how quickly companies and regiments could be formed with new recruits, at least to appear effective; although we learned subsequently that it required constant, long and severe drilling and discipline to acquire that skill which would enable a company or a regiment to be moved quickly and compactly at the word of command, especially in the presence of an enemy or in battle.

It was on the 18th of August when we left Camp Curtin and boarded a train of box cars for Washington. No one looking upon such a body of soldiers going to war could fathom what was going on in their thoughts. They had long before measured and mastered what would be new to and what would likely be expressed by the lookers-on. There was nothing perceptible, nor did it ever become apparent, even when in line of battle and ready to charge upon the enemy, that there was any fear; or that men would exhibit any other than at least an outward and cheerful obedience and ready compliance to orders. It was with cheers and every demonstration of pleasure that the command to "fall in" was received by the regiment. The usual activity along the way by patriotic citizens in their demonstrations of loyalty were only calculated to increase the buoyancy of spirit. If there were fears they were repressed by the individual, and none would be likely to know of their existence. The journey to Washington was without incident. The approach to places of historical interest were

pointed out by those familiar with the route to the National Capital; the destroyed railroad bridges, the vicinity of the home of the noted rebel, Harry Gilmore, the city of Baltimore, Relay Station, historic Bladensburg, were successively pointed out—then the first glimpses of Washington—each were lustily cheered by the enthusiastic soldiers. We arrived on the same day over the Northern Central railway. Washington was thronged with soldiers, but all was calm and orderly, and every effort seemed to be to hasten reinforcements south of the Potomac. We remained only until next day, when we were ordered South and marched down to and across the Potomac, upon the “sacred soil of Virginia.”

TREADING THE “SACRED SOIL.”

We marched through the streets of the city of so many soldiers. One of the daily papers noted the fact in a disparaging comment that a Pennsylvania regiment passed over into Virginia with its colonel and staff, in citizens' clothing, marching afoot at the head of the column. But the new uniforms of the men, their fine physique, full ranks, compact columns and good marching, was also recognized. Our colonel had been to war before, and so had many others among the officers and the men. The flippant reporter, probably, was an average Washington City man, whose praises of men and military skill were confined to the south side of the Potomac.

Colonel Allabach was a man of commanding figure, and as his splendid regiment of men of the Susquehanna and Juniata valleys of the old Keystone State marched proudly behind him, he was not disconcerted by his partial equipment, knowing the great emergency which necessitated it, and being fully prepared for all needful sacrifices that were necessary. As we passed down to the long bridge—that great gateway to the Virginia battlefields—the White House, the Washington monument—then unfinished—the Smithsonian Institute, and other objects of general interest were observed and pointed out, and had a diverting effect. The Potomac River is upon tide water there, and the great wooden bridge is low, seemingly little above the water, and at times it fairly swung to the tread of the mass of the columns, as the marching soldiers, some of them singing “Away down South in Dixie,” slowly passed over, and then trod the “sacred soil of Virginia.”

The men were eager and light-hearted, and gave no evidence of appreciation of the “sacredness” of that soil. There was not wanting, perhaps, a sense of the ridiculous, on the part of many, as they contemplated this marching column. The

officers were nearly all in citizens' clothes, and with other military equipments. Many of the men in the ranks had previously gone over this same ground in the three months' service, and these now recalled the scenes through which they had passed before in the memorable Bull Run campaign, when the first troops passed over the Potomac, and before any of the massive forts, which now encircled the Virginia side of the Capital, had been constructed.

Arlington Heights, just before us, were then the "observed of all observers," from both sides of the Potomac, as the home of the Lees, and looking back towards Washington City, its unfinished capitol dome loomed up in equal prominence. The long range of low hills, extending southward beyond Alexandria, were then occupied by the rebels, and their hateful flag fluttered defiantly in sight of the White House. All along that ridge the beautiful homes were then surrounded with groves and lawns, and were occupied by the families, largely, of those who were then over in the ranks of the enemy. Alexandria could be distinctly seen to the left, where a number of the men of the regiment stood as sentinels in its streets, soon after the intrepid young leader, the gallant Colonel Ellsworth, had first occupied the city and met his cruel and premature death. Fort Ellsworth, in the construction of which they assisted, could be seen ahead. Beyond that, towards Cloud's Mills, they held the outer picket lines, and they eagerly recalled their first skirmish with a rebel raiding party, and their first victim to their prowess, when they killed the leader, named Haines, who was found to have recently been a clerk in one of the departments of the Capitol at Washington, and was well-known in Alexandria. His body, thrown over a rail, was thus carried into camp when the pickets returned. In his pockets was found a pass which directed that he should be allowed to pass a number of men with their horses to a smithshop. He probably did a little raiding upon the Union lines upon his own authority, and paid the penalty by a forfeit of his own life. The terrible events of the first Bull Run battle were recalled as the men went marching on, and contrasted the wonderful transformation which had taken place since then. We were now upon the grounds occupied by General McClellan's army during that long period of preparation following Bull Run, and now we were daily looking for the return of that army. The beautiful homes and groves had been leveled and removed, and a long line of great forts and camps of soldiers stretched out before us as far as the vision extended. All these were being hurriedly filled for the impending crisis in our war for the Union.

The cheerful spirit of the men was doubtless heightened by these recitals, and the scene so new and the events so remarkable, into the midst of which we were marching. They alternately sang "Dixie Land" and "Marching Along," although the dust and a Southern August sun seemed to be conspiring to drown the ardor of these new soldiers. The sun was already going down beyond the hills and the forts before we were halted for the night at the camp designated for our stay until being properly equipped. Our first march in a regiment had been made. There was very little "straggling," an evidence of good discipline so far, as that unsoldierly offense is always regarded as the fault of the officers. But there was a high tension of excitement, not unlike that of an army massing for a battle, on account of the various movements of the great armies about us, and the enemy approaching, and this condition doubtless had the effect of keeping the men close to their files. Then we went into bivouac at Camp Chase, near the large Fort Albany, dust covered and weary, and after a hurriedly prepared supper of hardtack and coffee, all were soon sleeping the sleep of the just.

TENTING ON THE OLD CAMP GROUND.

It was now the 21st day of August. The 131st was "tenting on the old camp grounds," and mingling with the "300,000 more" who were about to reinforce the Union armies and defend our newly imperiled Capital. Two great Union armies were likewise converging from opposite directions, upon this vicinity, the old Army of the Potomac, under McClellan, and the recently consolidated Army of Virginia, under General Pope, together more than 200,000 men. The new Pennsylvania troops were being massed under orders from Washington, by provisional brigades, commanded by Brig.-Gen. Silas Casey.

The officers of the 131st now availed themselves of the first opportunity to uniform and equip themselves for active service. Those who had not secured these at Harrisburg now sent orders to Washington City. We were busy in our new camp. Besides drilling, requisitions were made for all needful supplies, including arms, accoutrements, tents, blankets, etc. The regiment was not destined to dwell much in tents, and received but few, until the "dog tents" were issued. These were not wall tents, nor of the Sibley kind, but consisted of small sections of canvas, with buttons at one end and button-holes at the other, so arranged that several might be readily attached, and two or three men soon learned to do this and quickly improvise a "shelter" fairly covering the prostrate forms of the occupants,

for at no other time did they expect shelter in the great campaigns upon which they were entering. When the men arose they took them up, unbuttoned them and stowed them, with all their other possessions—"household goods and wares"—in their knapsacks, which, with their arms, cartridge boxes, canteens and haversacks, constituted all their possessions.

BRIGADE DIVISION AND CORPS.

The officers of the regiment had thus far very little opportunity of becoming acquainted, but they lost no time in doing so, and entered upon a comradeship so genuine and so real, alike satisfactory and honorable and enduring. An incessant drill was kept up. It was drill, drill, drill, morning, noon and night, until sometimes it seemed it would stir up a mutiny. But it did not. We were not only becoming skillful in the performance of military evolutions, but the equally important physical condition, which would enable us to perform the long marches and rapid movements, which this preparation of endurance was so well calculated to secure through those toilsome drills. The men who sometimes complained and stated that they could not understand why we should be thus exercised, were not taking into consideration what our officers were looking forward to—a campaign of military service, with one of the largest armies in the world, and a record of imperishable honor to every dutiful soldier whose name was borne on the muster rolls.

On the occasion of our first evening dress parade our officers appeared in their new spic-and-span uniforms and the interesting ceremony was exceedingly satisfactory and gave assurance of efficiency and skill as a regiment. We listened for the first time to the "reading of orders," the means of conveying all official information to armies. The following is a copy of the first order read to us, and will serve to locate us in the formation of the new army:

HEADQUARTERS PROVISIONAL BRIGADES.

Aug. 21, 1862.

Special Orders, 1: The following named regiments will constitute the Third Provisional Brigade, under the command of Col. Peter H. Allabach, 131st Pennsylvania Volunteers, viz: 132d Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Captain Shreeve; 133d Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Captain Koeppler; 131st Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Colonel Allabach; 134th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Colonel Quay.

Colonel Allabach is authorized to issue passes to these regiments, not exceeding ten per day to each. He is also charged with the policing of the camp.

By command of
BRIG.-GEN. SILAS CASEY.

H. W. SMITH, A. A. G.

HEADQUARTERS PROVISIONAL BRIGADE.

Special Order No. 29:—1. It is made the duty of colonels commanding regiments to see that their troops have 100 rounds of ball cartridges to each man; forty rounds will be kept in the cartridge boxes of the men, and sixty rounds in store.

By command of
BRIG.-GEN. SILAS CASEY.

HENRY W. SMITH, A. A. G.

We were also informed that we would be supplied with arms at once and fully equipped to take the field in active service. We continued our active drilling, by squad, by companies and by regiment, and in a few days received our arms. They were very disappointing. They proved to be an indifferent lot, known as Austrian rifles. We had rumors that our regiment was to receive these rifles, and the men assumed that a very good impression of our possible service must have been made upon our commanders. We associated rifles with sharpshooting, or other special service—but, alas! our guns materialized and our illusions were dispelled. They were not rifles, nor even a good ordinary gun, but an indifferent lot of arms—a job lot—which were refused and condemned. We, however, soon received the best arms in the service—a splendid Springfield musket. Company A drew ninety-five of these, together with all the accoutrements, and this represented our fighting strength at this time. The entire regiment drew 957. These young Pennsylvania soldiers evidently felt that a good musket in the hand in an emergency is a great conservator of both energy and bravery.

The *personnel* and *material* of the new regiment and brigade—all Pennsylvanians—was now recognized by the competent commanders whose duty it was to assign the new lines in the Army of the Potomac, now so sadly in need of reinforcements. And well might they do so. They were four thousand well-armed, fully-equipped men, sufficiently drilled, who volunteered, leaving their homes and pursuits of civil life, and were eager to take the field and engage in battle to save their imperiled country.

There was one member of Company A, and there were a number of others in the regiment, whose zeal in efforts to fa-

miliarize himself with the use of his new gun, and to test the virtues of the powder and ball, was led beyond the limits of good order and military discipline, which prohibit indiscriminate shooting in camp. It was real Yankee inquisitiveness only which prompted this fine young soldier, not yet eighteen years old, to take his gun to a remote corner of camp, and coolly begin firing away. Of course it caused an alarm. The offender was speedily arrested and his company commander was notified. This honest and zealous young soldier explained that he simply wanted to know if his cartridges were good, and he thought his arrest was quite a mistake, and that it had occurred on account of the verdancy of a new officer who ordered his arrest, and who had no shooting to do; but, notwithstanding the foolishness of that officer, the young soldier had to perform extra police duty for a half hour, as he put it, just for finding out in advance that our ammunition was good.

IN THE GREAT ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

It has already been noted that the 131st was assigned to a brigade. Orders now speedily followed assigning the regiment a place in brigade, division and corps in the great Army of the Potomac. Colonel Allabach was assigned to the command of the brigade. The temporary loss of our colonel was generally regretted, although the compliment of his assignment was appreciated. The permanent appointment of a commander soon followed, and it was, to the men, as well as to the colonel, a good degree of satisfaction when upon dress parade the following order was read:

AUGUST 23, 1862.

General Order No. 48:—1. The 123rd, 131st, 133rd and 134th Regiments, Pennsylvania Volunteers, will constitute a brigade.

2. Brig.-Gen. John Cook, who has reported for duty to these headquarters, by order of the general-in-chief, is assigned to command the brigade. General Cook will at once organize his staff, and proceed as rapidly as possible in the discipline and drill of his brigade.

By command of
BRIG.-GEN. SILAS CASEY.

HARRY W. SMITH, A. A. G.

This order was followed by the new commander's first order, also read at dress parade:

HEADQUARTERS GENERAL COOK'S BRIGADE.

CAMP CILASE, VA., Aug. 25, 1862.

General Orders No. 1:—1. Pursuant to special orders No.

48, from headquarters of Brig.-Gen. Silas Casey, the undersigned hereby assumes command of the Third Provisional Brigade.

2. The following officers having reported for duty to the brigadier-general commanding, will be recognized and obeyed as a part of the staff: Col. P. H. French, Volunteer, A. D. C.; Capt. B. F. Smith, United States Volunteers, Asst. Adjt.-Gen.; Lieut. William L. Mann, Sixth N. Y. Cavalry, A. D. C.; J. B. Fully, Sixty-ninth N. Y. S. M., Acting A. Q. M.

3. Morning reports will be made daily at 9 o'clock.

4. No officer or enlisted man will be permitted to go further than one mile from camp, without a pass from his battalion commander, approved at these headquarters, and every such pass must embrace a good and sufficient cause, otherwise they will be disregarded.

5. All communications addressed to these headquarters must pass through the assistant adjutant-general.

6. Until the system of tactics adopted by the War Department can be obtained, the troops will be instructed at least four hours each day in the system known as Hardee's.

By order of

JOHN COOK,

Brigadier-General United States Volunteers, Commanding.

The next order, it will be seen, again assigns Colonel Allabach to the command of the brigade, and turns our new Pennsylvania regiments over to the command of General McClellan, in the Army of the Potomac:

HEADQUARTERS CAMP CHASE,
Aug. 28, 1862.

General Orders No. 4:—1. The brigade comprised of the 123d, 131st, 133d and 134th Pennsylvania Volunteers, in pursuance to orders from headquarters provisional brigades, Washington, D. C., having been turned over to Maj.-Gen. George B. McClellan, commanding Army of the Potomac, in pursuance to orders from headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, until further orders, the command will devolve upon Col. P. H. Allabach, commanding the 131st Pennsylvania Volunteers.

2. The colonel commanding will see at once that the command is immediately provided with 100 rounds of ammunition, in accordance with general orders headquarters provisional brigades, General Casey commanding.

3. Colonel Allabach will also see that his command is at once provided with five days' rations.

By order of
BRIGADIER-GENERAL COOK.

B. F. SMITH, Captain and A. A. G.

There was a rapid succession of orders incident to the re-organization of armies and the stirring events impending in Virginia, but the final orders assigned the 131st Regiment to the Second Brigade, Third Division, commanded by Gen. A. A. Humphrey, Fifth Army Corps, commanded by Gen. Fitz John Porter. General Briggs was also assigned to command the Second Brigade, but illness prevented him from taking the command, and the colonel of the 131st, Col. Peter H. Allabach, continued in command as the senior colonel of the brigade.

AT CAMP FORNEY AND FAIRFAX SEMINARY.

We remained in no one place but a short period on account of the shifting scenes between the McClellan and Pope armies, and after a short stay in Camp Chase, we occupied several camps, prior to our departure on our first great campaign, which ended with the battle of Antietam.

In the light of subsequent events, of interest, personally, to officers and men, and for the purpose of submitting all the available historical matter submitted for publication, the following letter from the Hon. Eli Slifer, secretary of the commonwealth, is given, which led to the appointment of our gifted and popular sergeant-major of the 131st, who was killed at the battle of Fredericksburg:

HERR'S HOTEL, HARRISBURG, PA.
Aug. 16, 1862.

COLONEL ALLABACH,

Dear Sir: This will be handed you by a son of my friend Parker. The young man desires the position of sergeant-major of your regiment. I understand he will be proposed by Major Patton. I can only say that he belongs to a good family, and I should be pleased to hear of his success.

Truly yours,
ELI SLIFER.

The 134th Regiment, Col. M. S. Quay, was transferred to the First Brigade, General Tyler, same division, and the 155th Pennsylvania, Colonel Allen, was substituted. This regiment was from Western Pennsylvania, but had in its ranks a young lad, a Mifflinburg boy, the gallant John Luther Fehrer. By reference to Bates' History it will be seen that after serving

with credit in the great campaigns during our service, his regiment, being a three-years' organization, participated in nearly all the great battles of the Army of the Potomac. He was a musician in Company K, and the muster rolls record his accidental drowning, April 25, 1865.

When in camp near Fairfax Seminary, where we continued our drill, drill, drill, Lieut. Jeremiah Snyder, of Company F, tendered his resignation from the service. It was not immediately accepted, and he remained with his company until after the battle of Antietam, when it was accepted and he retired. He was a student of the Mifflinburg Academy, and subsequently engaged in the practice of law at Selinsgrove and Sunbury, and later represented Northumberland county in the Legislature.

The 131st was now undergoing severe active service. The Army of the Potomac was encamped all about us—extending from Alexandria and Aquia Creek beyond our camp towards Bull Run, and many of them were sent to the support of Pope. Evidences of disaster were not wanting. That army was hard-pressed, and it seemed strange that so large a number of soldiers should be in these camps when so much needed near-by. The music of the enemy's cannon and the sound of battle was of daily occurrence. The new troops were wonderfully well freighted with ammunition and rations, and our officers were alert and moved us from point to point where our services might be needed. We were especially in demand for fatigue duty, and large details were sent out, and drill, drill, drill, was the order in camp. Such orders as the following indicate the use made of us:

HEADQUARTERS WHIPPLE'S DIVISION.

Sunday, Sept. 10, 1862.

Special Order No. 132: Colonel Allabach will detail three hundred men (300) to report to Captain Migley at Fort Blenker, to work on entrenchments. The detail will report at 1 o'clock, this day.

By order of

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WHIPPLE.

H. R. DUTTON, A. A. G.

The only soldier's letter of this date that is available, is one written by Private Harry G. Stees, a member of Company A, which is given in full. The writer was killed in the charge upon the stone wall at Marye's Heights, Fredericksburg, to which reference will be more fully made in the order of events, but this fact adds interest and pathos to the young writer's patriotic letter.

A SOLDIER'S LETTER.

FROM 131ST PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT,
CAMP FORNEY, Sept. 12, 1862.

To the Editor of the Mifflinburg Telegraph:

At last, after many delays. I find myself seated to write to old Union county friends. My last left us in Camp Chase, where we remained only a few days. While there we had very little active service to perform, except to drill, but one evening after supper we received orders to be ready to march in half an hour. Accordingly tents were struck and every preparation was made for a move. A short time before dark we set out, in the direction of Bull Run, but where we were going was a mystery. After marching through woods, dust, and rough roads, about six miles, we halted and bivouacked for the night and placed our pickets. It was on a level plain, near the public road. Morning found us all anxious to know our destination, but, after waiting and listening for the sounds of battle ahead, we were ordered to pitch our tents. We were pleased with this camp ground, and it was named Camp Allabach, in honor of our colonel. Perhaps we were too well pleased, for we were not permitted to remain long. At noon, on August 30, we heard heavy firing all day, and especially severe in the afternoon. You will know before we will what it was all about. We were again moved out in that direction, and afterwards to a camp on a hill near Fort Ward. Here we remained for some time. We did not have our tents, but we were finding out how we could make ourselves comfortable without them, with our army overcoats and blankets—if it didn't rain. But on Sunday morning it began to rain in full earnest. Many, not on duty, sought shelter in the surrounding barns or houses, or any nook that offered shelter, but many stood to their camp and quietly and sullenly breasted the storm. It continued to pour until after noon, when our regiment was put out on picket duty. At the post where I was stationed we found a sheet-iron stove, some pans, and there was a cornfield near-by, all of which was found quite convenient and very suggestive, for our bill of fare did not include a great variety. We had no alarm at night, which was a very dark one, and the rain continued. After being relieved in the morning some lively skirmishing for rations took place—some for apples, some for peaches, and others for corn. You see we were not likely to suffer hunger. We returned to camp next evening, all dripping wet, weary and muddy.

The next night about 12 o'clock, six companies of the regiment were sent out on the picket line, and the rest of us were

taken in the breastworks. On Monday night we were again sent out on duty at Cloud's Mills. On Wednesday evening we were marched away from Camp Ward to our present camp, named after Pennsylvania's distinguished editor of *The Press*, Col. John W. Forney, of Philadelphia. We have here a battery of artillery, but no breastworks thrown up. It is reported they are inducing old Stonewall to cross the Potomac north. If he does we will try to do him justice.

The boys are all well with a few exceptions, and all are anxious to have a brush with the rebels, and I hope the time is coming soon when the 131st will have a chance at them. I think they are all brave boys and good soldiers, and all are wishing to do their share. I need not say that the officers are the same. A good portion of them are old soldiers.

The boys are considerably dissatisfied with their arms. We have the Austrian rifles—a poor gun—and many of them are damaged. Any soldier would be dissatisfied if he found himself in danger, or if he was to do his duty, and his gun was useless. I understand, however, that our officers have taken steps to have them condemned, and that other arms are here, said to be the fine Springfield musket. It is the general opinion that Companies A and B will be the skirmishing companies, and that they will be armed with the little Sharp's rifles.

I think that some time after this we will make a tour to New Orleans, via Richmond, and return home by some other rebel city; but ere this happens we must, of course, necessarily catch old Stonewall. It is reported we march this afternoon.

More anon,

HARRY.

CHAPTER III.

THE POPE CAMPAIGN.

THE story of the struggles of General Pope in that eventful campaign from the banks of the Rapidan and the Rapahannock to within the defences of the city of Washington, following the battles and retreats of General McClellan on the Peninsula, and his recall to Washington will probably forever mark the most critical period of our national existence. The last throes of slavery and its adherents were convulsing the nation. On one side its hosts, under Davis and Lee, were arrayed, a solid, compact force, permitting no divided councils, bent upon the disunion of the States and the establishment of a confederacy, under a new flag, and its cornerstone, slavery. On the other side, for the Union, under Lincoln and his generals, were divided councils "half free and half slave." But the great body of the people of the North now began to recognize the inevitable necessity for the destruction of what was not only the cause of the war, but that the utter destruction of slavery was a necessary condition for the success of the National armies, as well as the subsequent peace and harmony of the United States. Our statesmen and our generals were divided on these points, and these differences were the great peril of the time, and they had much to do with the failures of the recent battles of these remarkable campaigns, as well as some of those following, with which the history of the 131st is identified. But the loyal people were equal to the occasion, the leaders were forthcoming, slavery was destroyed, and the great American Union was saved.

Out upon the front lines of the Union armies and among our pickets the problem of the slave's status had been settled. Experimentally there was no slavery, and there could be none. The boys in blue had learned that a black man could be depended upon as a friend, though he might be the property of a man in the rebel army. The soldiers eagerly took his advice, depended upon his information, accepted his services and looked upon him as an ally. Generals Butler, Hunter and Fremont had been compelled to interpret this view in orders, which, however logical, brought them to grief at the time, but the slave was "contraband." General McClellan and others, and their partisan friends, held different views, and maintained that slavery must be defended, and the slave could not be a soldier, and must not be interfered with in his legal relations with his master. In a letter

to President Lincoln, on July 27th, 1862, when yet at Harrison's Landing, just after his defeat, General McClellan wrote: "Military power should not be allowed to interfere with the relations of servitude, either by supporting or impairing the authority of the master." It was a cue to all the friends and apologists of slavery. It was no part of his duty to advise the President upon the government's relation to the problem, but his letter was seized upon and made the rallying cry of a powerful organization, and which was so disastrous in its results, arraying Northern men one against the other in divisive strifes and party bitterness, when the whole power of the government and the people, in one harmonious effort, was necessary to success. "The Constitution as it is and the Union as it was," was chosen as a rallying cry by those opposed to President Lincoln, and General McClellan became their candidate for president. The Constitution, it was true, did securely, seemingly, embrace slavery in its folds, and this part of this motto was in harmony with their purpose—but the other was a misfit—"The Union as it was," *was not*.

These unfortunate but inevitable partisan and personal quarrels among the generals more than account for the failures of both the Army of the Potomac and the armies of Northern Virginia, under Pope, in the closing scenes of which the 131st had some participation, and witnessed some of its most disastrous results and humiliating scenes.

The brigade to which we now belonged included about 4,000 men. There were many other newly enlisted troops, not only from Pennsylvania, but from other States. The bulk of the old Army of the Potomac were encamped about us, all under the sound of the enemy's guns at that fatal Second Bull Run battle!

None of the men will likely ever forget the scenes and incidents of the coming together of these great armies, under the unfortunate conditions surrounding them, and with which we were to mingle our fortunes. The long marches and many battles of the closing campaigns, ending in defeat, gave the veterans anything but a holiday appearance, and their bronzed faces and worn uniforms were in striking contrast with the new troops, all newly equipped and uniformed.

Immediately after the Second Bull Run and Chantilly battles the 131st was on duty well out on the Warrenton turnpike. Here we encountered a great many of the scattered forces coming from those battles. They were generally without arms and made a sorry appearance, and their "tales of woe" were anything

but assuring. The men of the 131st met many of their Pennsylvania friends in these old regiments, many of whom were royally entertained as they came into our camp. One of these, it is recalled, who was entertained at headquarters of Company A, was Private George W. Foote, of Company E, Fifty-first Pennsylvania, and now the spirited editor of the *Mifflinburg Times*, who may yet be able to attest the hospitality of the 131st on that memorable occasion. It is not our province to write the story of those campaigns; but it is something forever to be proud of, for every member of the 131st, and all those who participated honorably in them, and who stood so faithfully at this perilous period in the cause of the Union, and the events which mark an era in the progress of our great country and of civilization. The Union generals who were so solicitous about slavery soon dropped out of the service. The battle for which all the troops were now concentrating about the Capital, and which soon followed—Antietam—determined the final overthrow and extinction forever of the institution of slavery in the United States! The victim—the long-suffering, patient slave—looked on, philosophized, and his logical conception of the situation was popularized in song, which rang through all the armies and the States:

“ De massa run, ha, ha !
 De darkie stay, ho, ho !
 It must be now de kingdom's comin'—
 De year of ju-bi-lo.”

The want of co-operation between the generals commanding our armies was apparent. General McClellan was relieved of his command. General Pope requested that he be relieved and be returned to a Western command. General McClellan, in a letter to the Secretary of War Stanton, declared that “if he could not control all the troops he did not want any of them.” The government at Washington was placed in the position which made it necessary either to dispense with the services of a number of able generals or else place McClellan again in command. General Lee, with a comparatively small army, had defeated all our armies in Virginia, and was almost in sight of Washington with his victorious army, and was marshaling all the available power of the Confederacy in order to secure Maryland, transfer the war to the North, and secure the much desired foreign intervention which was pressed with all the vigor its agents could summon.

President Lincoln was equal to the great emergency. He placed General McClellan in command and obtained the support of the recalcitrant generals, and sent General Pope to St.

Louis, and at the same time came to a conclusion as to his duty to the country in regard to the question of the disturbing element which was threatening the life of our country—slavery. Lee was defeated at South Mountain and Antietam, after which slavery was abolished forever in the United States by the President's proclamation.

OUR FIRST REVIEW.

Active discipline and preparation was continued among the new troops. On the 9th of September, Colonel Allabach received the following from General Whipple:

HEADQUARTERS DIVISION,
Sept. 9, 1862

Colonel Allabach, Commanding Brigade: The general will be happy to review your brigade at 6 o'clock this afternoon.

Very respectfully,

HENRY DUTTON, A. A. G.

This event took place as indicated, and was our first review. We went through the toilsome ceremony many times subsequently, but the novelty of this one under all the circumstances, gave it unusual interest, and was observed by thousands of critical witnesses of the old armies, who were encamped around us. We were newly uniformed, armed and equipped, and our regiment had full ranks, which made them appear to the old soldiers, whose ranks had been sadly decimated, like so many brigades or divisions. Our successful manoeuvres and creditable performances in manual of arms were satisfactory to our officers, and won unstinted praise upon all sides.

ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

Our provisional organization was now terminated, and we were consolidated with General McClellan's new command, the Army of the Potomac, as the Third Division of the Fifth Corps, commanded by Gen. Fitz John Porter, as follows:

Commander of Division, Brig.-Gen. A. A. Humphrey.

First Brigade, Gen. E. B. Tyler.

Ninety-first Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. E. M. Gregory; 126th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. James G. Elder; 129th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. J. G. Frick; 134th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Lieut.-Col. Edw. O'Brian.

Second Brigade, Col. Peter H. Allabach, commanding.

123d Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. J. B. Clark;
131st Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Lieut.-Col. W. B.

Shaut; 133d Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. F. B. Speakman; 155th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. E. J. Allen.

Artillery, First New York Light Battery C, Lieut. W. H. Phillips; First United States Batteries, E and G, Capt. A. M. Randol.

On the evening of the 9th of September, at dress parade, the first special orders were read from our corps commander. We began our service with the veteran soldiers, and all the signs betokened abundant work for us ahead. The following order indicates our first service, and was read as follows:

ARLINGTON, VA., Sept. 9, 1862.

Special Orders No. 1: Colonel Allabach, commander of brigade, will at once see that his regiments are supplied with forty rounds of ammunition in cartridge boxes, and have at least three days' provisions, and put in order for active service. An additional supply of forty rounds will be kept in wagons.

The division will be posted so that at any short notice it can occupy its lines of battle, and at the same time be held ready to push out on the Columbia turnpike. Colonel Allabach's brigade will be posted and held ready to push out on the Leesburg or Little River turnpike. He will picket on the turnpike and railroad, having the main guards at the crossing of Cameron's and Holmes' Run. The advance guard and pickets will be thrown well forward toward Annandale and Page's tavern, where cavalry pickets will be stationed. * * *

No person will be permitted to pass these lines except by authority of the major-general commanding, or superior authority. All persons coming in will be taken to the nearest commander, and the names and circumstances of arrest will be reported to these headquarters. If of importance the person will be sent in under guard.

By command of
MAJ.-GEN. FITZ JOHN PORTER.

FRED'K T. LOCKE, A. A. G.

There was little probability of the rebel forces attacking the Washington defenses, but the enemy permitted no delay in resuming active operations. The Army of the Potomac under its old leader must find and meet the old enemy. But Lee challenged him by defiantly crossing the Potomac for a Northern invasion. If the hope of success was ever bright for the confederate chieftain it was when his army had seemingly met and

defeated, first the army under McClellan, on the Peninsula, and then the armies defending Washington, and were crossing the Potomac northward, singing "Maryland, My Maryland!"

MARCHING NORTHWARD.

On the evening of September 12 we received marching orders, and the next day we joined those long, sinewy lines of dust and humanity, which could be seen in every direction, a great army, marching over hill and valley, all moving towards Washington City. Great columns of dust indicated the various columns, which could be seen in every direction from every little elevation, and was a most impressive sight to all, and especially to the new soldiers. The army was marching up both sides of the Potomac, north and westward, to intercept the invaders. Our column passed by Forts Blenker and Ward, thence by Chain Bridge down the Potomac and through Georgetown to the city of Washington, and bivouacked in the streets of the city that night, in the vicinity of the head of Fourteenth street.

General Pope took leave of his command and returned to a western army. General Banks was placed in command of the army defending Washington, and the Third, Fifth and Eleventh corps were placed under his command, in all reported to be about 75,000 men. McClellan's new army was made up of the First, Second, Fourth (in part), Sixth, Ninth and the Twelfth, and General Couch's Division of the Fifth Corps. After some shifting orders, the whole of the Fifth Corps was added to McClellan's column, an aggregate of about 85,000 men.

It is puzzling that, even at this day, no accurate numbers can be ascertained from the official reports of commanders, and that our historians give such conflicting numbers when computing those engaged in nearly all our battles. The Southern generals systematically concealed their actual strength. Throughout the war they flippantly assumed to believe one Southern soldier was equal to two or three Northern men. Whatever numbers General Pope may have had under his command in the recent struggles, the fact is disclosed that at every point of contact Lee had more men in action. The full force and effect of the want of harmony among the Union generals is made apparent when we consider the numbers of available men now in and about Washington, under Banks and McClellan, and compare them with the force which Lee had in defeating General Pope. Lee received reinforcements for his Northern invasion, yet, at the battles of South Mountain and Antietam Lee reported that he had less than 40,000 men engaged, and General Taylor, the historian, who was on Lee's staff, in his



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COMMANDING COMPANY B.

book "Four Years With Lee," makes the numbers 35,255. Apropos of this Southern habit of misstating their numbers, a recent writer is compelled to protest thus: "A few more years, a few more books, and it will appear that Lee and a general and a one-armed orderly, and a casual with a shot gun, fought all the battles of the rebellion, and killed all the Union soldiers, except those who ran away."

In the *Charleston Courier's* story of a battle, that paper, in its zeal, made this statement concerning their defeat: "They fought until they were all cut to pieces, and then retreated only because they had fired their last round." No doubt the *Courier* readers wanted that kind of a story, and this was a common estimate placed upon the valor of Southern troops, and this spirit is still persisted in by many Southern writers to this day.

Concerning the recent battles fought within our hearing, and for which we were daily kept in readiness, General Pope declared in his official report that not more than one-third of General McClellan's army came to his assistance. We know a large force was idle all around us, and all the men of the 131st were eager to march towards the sound of battle.

The next day we marched to the navy yard and exchanged our Austrian rifles for Harper's Ferry muskets, returning to our camp in the evening. We did not then know that our new division commander, General Humphrey, had been arrested in the city. Strict orders had been issued to prevent army officers from loitering at the Capital. Our commander had just been assigned to his new division, which had just been organized, and was not provided for fully for the great campaign then just entered upon. In the pursuit of this duty he was in the streets of the city when arrested, and it caused a delay of a day's march at a critical time of a division of troops. He was properly released, but it was a great indignity and caused a bitterness between the general and several officers in high places, which was not forgotten throughout the war. General McClellan now requested that he be given the entire Fifth Corps, which was granted, and preparation was at once made and all the troops were put forward with forced marching orders. The delay in Washington gave us an opportunity to get some glimpses of the extent and great beauty of the city. Our dusty and sunburned soldiers, clad in their army blue, afforded a somewhat marked contrast with the airy and daintily-dressed citizens, who in large numbers, afoot and with their gay equipages, visited the soldiers who were in bivouac, and watched the passing columns of the great army now in pursuit of Lee, who was on his way North.

General Humphrey was a regular officer of great skill and ability, and bent himself to his new duties with great energy. He had not even the meager means for transportation to which the old soldiers of the armies had been reduced. We were immediately placed under marching orders with as little baggage as possible, most of which was left with details to guard and to follow the moving army by train. The company officers of the 131st packed all their supplies, books, stationery, clothing, red tape and sealing wax, into one small trunk to a company, most of which were not seen again for weeks. Private Samuel Grou, of Company A, was one of those detailed to guard the baggage and supplies of the division. He states that when the division moved the baggage was taken to the train of cars, and the guards were ordered to the soldiers' retreat, where they remained next day, when they were placed in passenger cars, accompanying the baggage train, and were taken to Frederick City.

Our division was very hastily provided for under the urgent orders to join the advance. But our line of march was resumed on that bright Sunday morning in September, and we moved forward with the great Army of the Potomac. Lee had now turned northward up the Potomac River, and crossed into Maryland below Harper's Ferry. This was urging General McClellan to use the greatest dispatch. How much Lee must have been misled as to both the *morale* and numbers of his enemy! But he believed he had both defeated the entire Army of the Potomac on the Peninsula, and the armies defending Washington, and that he was now invincible. But the seven-days' battles before Richmond were not all defeats, and General McClellan's retreats were not necessary, so far as fear of Lee was concerned, and Pope's defeat was mainly due to the want of harmony among the Union generals.

General Lee's threat to invade the North and transfer the battle grounds to Pennsylvania, had the effect of arousing the nation, and the alarm brought the Union generals closer together, and President Lincoln seized with a firmer grasp the authority of the commander-in-chief. The emergency troops from Pennsylvania were already arriving at the borders of the State, and were ready to assist the Army of the Potomac. The vast army of new and veteran soldiers which Lee found in his front, must have been an unlooked-for revelation of the recuperative power and abundant resources of the North. But Lee always failed when he assumed the offensive. His defeats at South Mountain and Antietam dispelled his illusion and renewed and strengthened the friends of the Union.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ANTIETAM CAMPAIGN.

McCLELLAN'S army assumed its former soldierly appearance, its usual discipline was restored, and it was reinforced by large numbers of the new soldiers. General Banks, for the defense of Washington, had as many troops as General Lee, and Pennsylvania sent about 40,000 men to the border. General Lee, with his rebel army, and General McClellan, with his new Union army, were now both moving on Frederick City, Maryland. The 131st Regiment had been detained, as General Humphrey had just taken command of the division, and no provision for army transportation had been made. It was while on this pressing duty he was so unjustly arrested in the streets of Washington. Yet the order which was intended to prevent officers loitering in the Capital was a good and necessary one. The men of the 131st will remember the first day's march. It was a severe ordeal. The sun was intensely hot, as many of the men carried useless burdens in their knapsacks. The roads, so well beaten, were dusty, but we covered about fourteen miles, notwithstanding a detour of some miles had been made, through the carelessness of a staff officer, who was sent to indicate the line of march, and put us on the wrong road. On the march Colonel Allabach rigidly enforced discipline and the order to prohibit "straggling" and "foraging." Some of the boys who sighed for the good things not in their haversacks, and which seemed to invite them to green fields and pastures new, came to grief—were arrested, and some of them severely punished. The colonel was doubtless right, but he was considered by many to be needlessly severe, and it left rankling resentments which were not wholly removed until after the battle of Fredericksburg, by which time the necessity and value of discipline was more fully understood and appreciated by the men. On the evening of the third day's march we reached the banks of the beautiful Monocacy Creek, where the smouldering ruins of the burned railroad bridge marked the tracks of the enemy.

None of the men will ever forget the welcome relief which our bivouac on the banks of that stream afforded that night, after our severe service ever since we were armed and equipped, and under the alarming conditions in Virginia during the battles which resulted in General Pope's defeat. After a severe march it was always an interesting event to come upon the

banks of a refreshing stream, and an interesting sight as well, and no troops ever more keenly appreciated this advantage than the weary columns of the new Pennsylvania troops, as they turned into that luxurious Monocacy bath in columns of thousands, including men, horses and cattle.

Frederick City, Md., is about fifty miles in a direct line north from Washington. When Lee's army arrived there, if its general ever believed, as they claimed, that he had defeated all the Union army in his front, and could now invade the North or capture Washington, he must have experienced chagrin and disappointment when he learned that Washington was securely defended, and his old antagonist, whom he left on the James, the old Army of the Potomac, stronger than ever, an array of Pennsylvanians now confronted him.

The retreat of Pope left the Union troops at Harper's Ferry and the upper Potomac exposed to the advance of Lee's army. McClellan moved too slow, and was nine days in marching from Washington to Frederick City with his main army. The rebel troops from Richmond in the meantime had marched overland all the way, and reached Lee. Before reinforcements reached them the Union troops under General Miles were defeated. General Miles was killed and the fort was surrendered, with all the garrison and stores. Lee now had a clear field in Virginia and direct railroad communication with Richmond through the Shenandoah Valley, and the river and mountains were between him and Washington, south and east of him. To defend Richmond, always upon the inner circle, with such fighting and marching material as he undoubtedly had, was one thing; but to attack and carry on an offensive campaign upon Union territory, was quite another.

McClellan, in "His Own Story," gives as a reason for his slow movements against Lee, that the uncertainty of his enemy's whereabouts and the necessity of protection to the Capital made it necessary. Small circumstances often occur to decide important events, or even the fate of nations, and two seemingly trifling incidents now occurred to determine the movements of these contending armies. When the rebels were in Frederick City some careless rebel general cast away a bit of paper. It was the order of General Lee directing his movements and the capture of Harper's Ferry. The Union forces occupied the city the next day. The bit of paper was picked up by a Union officer and was promptly placed in the hands of General McClellan, who now knew the location of all the several corps of the

rebel army, but it did not prevent the capture of Harper's Ferry, nor did it hasten the attack upon Lee before he could reunite his then scattered forces. This fatal delay did much toward determining the fate of McClellan as commander of the Army of the Potomac. The other singular coincident was the fact that when McClellan finally gave his orders to advance, upon the information received through the finding of Lee's orders, he gave verbal orders to a number of corps commanders in the presence of several citizens. One of these immediately hastened off to the rebel lines, sought out the rebel leader, and gave him the coveted knowledge of the finding of his order and the plans of his antagonist. This knowledge of each other's plans made it equally important for the most prompt movements—Lee to hasten the capture of the Ferry and its defenseless garrison, and to unite his several corps for defense; and McClellan to hasten to the relief of Miles and save Harper's Ferry and strike Lee before he could unite his troops for defense in the strong positions known to abound along the Potomac.

The story of the battles of South Mountain and Antietam and the deplorable capture of Harper's Ferry, record the results. The final removal of General McClellan and the Emancipation Proclamation forever abolishing slavery, were largely determined by the results of this great, eventful campaign. Lee retreated to his old and familiar Virginia defenses, instead of transferring the war to Pennsylvania, to continue his now ever hopeless task. It is a proud distinction which the members of the 131st Regiment may ever cherish as a most enviable distinction, that they were identified with the Union army in the achievements upon those fields of these great triumphs.

It will be seen that when the 131st was restfully tenting on the Monocacy, a portion of the Fifth Corps was in the front lines in the mountain passes and on South Mountain during that battle. But for our delay at Washington, we doubtless would have been there, too. It is not proposed to enter upon a detailed account of these battles, but only to outline and to note the immediate operations with which we were directly identified. General McClellan, in his report, makes the following reference to the Third Division of the Fifth Corps, in which was the 131st Regiment:

"Humphrey's division of new troops, in their anxiety to participate in the battle which was raging when they received the order to march from near Frederick City at about half-past 3, pressed forward during the entire night and reached the

battlefield in the morning, having marched twenty-three miles. They were, of course, greatly exhausted and needed rest and refreshment."

General Humphrey's report contains the following:

"I marched at daylight (from Washington) on Sunday morning, the 14th of September, and reached Monocacy Depot Tuesday p. m. Here I obtained, as ordered, such supplies of rations and forage, if very little of the latter, and upon sending to Frederick found orders awaiting me to take a position in front of Frederick to protect it, and to watch the approach from Harper's Ferry, then in possession of the enemy. On Wednesday morning I examined the country in front of Frederick, selected a position for the division, arranging with the military commander of Frederick to station vedettes on certain roads in advance; arranged at the telegraph office to have the earliest information from Harper's Ferry, and was returning to camp to move my division to the position selected, when I received, about 3:30 o'clock p. m., orders from General McClellan to move forward. This I did immediately, and had marched five miles, when at sunset I received another order to join the army then at Antietam, the next morning, if possible. I marched all night, and early next morning was in position at Antietam.

"General McClellan rode through part of my division on his way out from his headquarters, and it filed past him in moving down to General Morrell's position. Notwithstanding the long night march they had made of over twenty-eight miles, of a forced march, the men were in good heart, and, refreshed by a short rest and coffee, would have fought well. Had they been wanting in spirit a large portion of them might have remained behind, for the night was very dark. When I saw the long lines of the regiments as they filed into their position, in rear of Morrell, I knew the kind of men I commanded, and their conduct on the field since that time has justified my confidence in them."

None of the men who participated in that hurried march will ever forget it. We were probably three miles from Frederick City, near Monocacy Station. All felt the strain that was upon our hitherto unfortunate Army of the Potomac, and were impressed with the danger to the National Capital, and were determined to repel the invasion of Union soil and call a halt upon Lee and defeat his army.

The march was most creditable to the new division, and its soldierly bearing won the praise and confidence of our com-

manders and the respect of the old soldiers of the Army of the Potomac. We were not only making a rapid and toilsome march, but it was in the rear of an army in battle. We passed many wounded soldiers, and were enveloped in all the wondrous tales and rumors which prevail just in the rear of great battle lines.

As we passed through the pretty and patriotic little city of Frederick we saw many Barbara Frietchies waving the Stars and Stripes from windows, but heard none say "shoot, if you must, this old gray head," but we were overwhelmed with kind attention and every evidence of joy and gratitude by its loyal citizens. They lined the streets with men, women and children. Water, coffee, bread and rusk were plentifully and freely supplied, and we were cheered and encouraged by good reports from the front, and they urged us to make sure the defeat and destruction of the invaders, who had so recently held their city.

Very few men fell out of the ranks. It was one of the very sad trials to officers and men to witness a faithful soldier, who had carried his gun long and submitted to all the privations incident to the soldier's life, stricken down, or become exhausted while on a march in an active campaign, to be left to be cared for by no one knew who, or by nobody, or to captivity and the dreaded rebel prison, or whatever the cruel environments might have in store for him. But military necessity is great, and it forbids that the strong men should be diverted from their stern duties at the crisis, so that when men fall out at such a time they must be regarded as lost, or be picked up and cared for by only those who are appointed for that duty. So when a comrade is stricken down on a march, a few tender little kindnesses are sadly extended and he is left behind. Many a poor fellow fills an unknown and unmarked grave who thus fell out to die alone, or among strangers, or within the lines of the enemy.

Our line of march from the Monocacy was first northward to the city of Frederick, then westward, crossing the South Mountains, thence to Middletown, Boonesboro and Keedysville, where we crossed the Antietam, and reached the front on the battlefield near Sharpsburg in the morning. We passed near McClellan's headquarters and were placed in position in support of the Second Corps, on the high ground east and north of the town, the rebel lines then extending through Sharpsburg. We were several times moved from one point to another, on both sides of the Keedysville and Sharpsburg road.

The mountains which we crossed upon our march, were quickly placed between the armies by Lee, when he was so sud-

denly confronted by McClellan at Frederick City. The battle of South Mountain followed, and was caused by Lee's effort to delay or prevent the crossing. He had very strong reasons for this. Lee's army was divided; Jackson was sent back from Frederick into Virginia to capture Harper's Ferry and our hosts at Martinsburg and vicinity, before the Union army would gather in his front. He expected that in those mountain gaps he could very easily delay the Northern army until he could accomplish his orders, after which he would again defeat the Yankee army. But the victory of South Mountain placed Lee's army at the mercy of McClellan, with his large and compact army. Each general knew the other's plans, but Lee knew McClellan was slow and that Jackson was quick, and he hurried that officer, who succeeded in capturing Harper's Ferry whilst the Union army was comparatively inactive for three days in front of Sharpsburg. Then Lee secured Harper's Ferry and its garrison of 11,000 men. General Miles, its commander, was killed and seventy-three pieces of artillery and all the stores, fell into his hands, and Jackson returned to Lee in time to save him, just after Burnside had taken Antietam Bridge, which pierced the rebel lines, and would have been fatal to Lee, who was now largely outnumbered. The victory of South Mountain was thus more than offset by the defeat at Harper's Ferry.

Lee had now learned that McClellan was ready to attack his army, and he also had the evidence that the armies of Pope and of the Potomac had not been annihilated by the campaign in Virginia.

The western side of the Antietam presented an admirable defensive position, and their perfect knowledge of the grounds gave Lee's army an advantage over McClellan's quite sufficient to compensate for superior numbers of the attacking army, so that, all in all, the two old antagonists—the disunionists who had established a hostile government, and were carrying a hostile flag, both of which presented the abominable proposition for the perpetuation of human slavery, which was to be the chief corner-stone of the new Confederacy—were about to meet again in mortal combat, with even chances for victory.

As the 131st was hastening to the front on that night march we passed over the battlefield of South Mountain, and on through the rear of the army after the great struggles of the 16th and 17th. The streets of the villages of Middletown, Boonesboro and Keedysville were filled with wounded, dead and dying soldiers of both armies—Union and rebel. Nearly all the

houses and barns, and every other available place, had been converted into hospitals, and the roads were full of ambulances carrying dead and wounded officers and men. We also passed the Harper's Ferry garrison, who had been surrendered after the death of General Miles, and who were paroled because Lee could not hold them, nor could he spare a force to send them South. The dead body of General Mansfield, of the Twelfth Corps, was also passed to the rear through our columns. We were given a good deal to think about on that long and hurried march to the front. There were some very tedious delays upon the road, occasioned by the obstruction of other marching troops, when we could neither rest nor advance. Many of the men declared they found themselves sleeping, standing in their places in the ranks, and would move forward when the column moved and stop when the column stopped—but they slept right on.

The Compté de Paris, who was with General McClellan, thus refers to the time when the 131st came upon the battlefield, in his *History of the Civil War*:

"The sun of September 18, 1862, rose to light up one of those scenes of suffering and anguish which humbles the pride of man, by the exhibition of his weakness and cruelty. Twenty thousand men, killed or wounded the day before, were lying on that narrow battlefield. Their comrades were exhausted by the struggle, by fatigue and by want of both sleep and food. McClellan had, indeed, thought of resuming the offensive, in order to complete the victory so dearly bought on the day before. Many generals, Franklin among the rest, urged this. Others, like Sumner, tried to dissuade him. An attack afforded great chances of success. But Pennsylvania protected, Washington free from danger, and the invasion definitely repulsed, the Union general was not willing to run the risk. The two divisions of the Fifth Corps—Couch's and Humphrey's—joined the army on the field in the course of the morning. As soon as they made their appearance, McClellan, feeling henceforth certain of success, gave orders for attacking the Confederates on the morning of the 19th. Lee had also received reinforcements from Harper's Ferry; but these fresh troops did not compensate him for his losses. The campaign was ended, and could not be renewed. An attack might degenerate into disaster. During the night the whole of Lee's army crossed silently into Virginia."

As we passed nearby General McClellan's headquarters many of the men saw and recognized the gallant leader of the

Union side, with his large retinue of staff and orderlies on the east side of the Antietam. We crossed that stream by the Keedysville Bridge, No. 2, on the direct road to Sharpsburg. From the McClellan headquarters, a large brick house, we could see almost over the whole battlefield. Lee's headquarters were on the hill just east and outside of the village of Sharpsburg. The place is now the site of the Antietam monument, in the National Cemetery there.

When we took position in the line of battle, in pursuance of General McClellan's orders to renew the battle, we were placed in line held by Morrell's division, which was sent over to the aid of Burnside on our left. In the shifting scenes which followed preparatory to the attack, we were several times moved along the front line, and were finally placed not far from the Hagerstown pike, with our lines extending south of Sharpsburg, where the Fifth Corps was to renew the battle at daylight.

That was a night long to be remembered by the men of the 131st. We knew we were to open the battle at daylight. The long march had been exhausting and the heat and anxiety of the day severe, but the night was cool and our rest refreshing. We slept in line of battle on our arms, and the sonorous music of the night indicated that we had many sound sleepers! They did not all sleep, nor did many of them sleep all the night, for the chances of the morrow were keenly counted, and the sights and sounds of the battlefield contemplated.

"We silently gazed on the face of the dead,
And we bitterly thought of the morrow."

Bordan's sharpshooters were on the picket lines in front, and they mingled with our men. We found among them a private, a Lewisburg boy, whom many members of Company A knew. It was young Samuel Black, who they said had run away from home to enlist in the army. He got quite an ovation there among the boys in the Union county company, and he told them he felt sure we would smash Lee's army into smithereens in the morning, when nearly all Lewisburg would be hurled down upon them, for he thought nearly all must be in Company A. The young sharpshooter told us that some of the rebel pickets had been removed early in the night, and it was rumored all along the line that Lee was retreating down the Potomac, not far away.

The rumors from the picket lines now multiplied so rapidly as to leave little doubt that the rebel line immediately in our front had either been entirely withdrawn, or else had so

changed direction of the battle line as to relieve us of the necessity of the attack, for which we all supposed we had been placed in position soon after dark. As the enemy receded our pickets and sharpshooters closely pressed upon their lines, and thus disclosed the purpose of the movement and found it to be a retreat of Lee's army. The bulk of the army had already crossed the Potomac, mainly at the Shephardstown Ford.

That night on the battlefield will not be forgotten by any of the men of the 131st. They had heard of the praise bestowed upon them by General McClellan, as well as our division commander, and of the determination to renew the battle. It was an honorable distinction, but an attack at close range upon the soldiers who had fought the battles of the past two days had its significance, which was probably fairly appreciated by many of the officers and men of Humphrey's Division. But the sleepless ones were now not considerate for the repose of that long line of new soldiers, sleeping on their arms, to be called into battle at the early dawn, for the news of retreat was now proclaimed, and it was not long before the contagion of the enthusiasm of victory infected the whole line, first manifested by the outburst of a single cheer, soon to be taken up by the listening comrades, then gradually bursting into a great shout all along the line. Thus it spread from one line to another, from the sleeping lines in front to the great sleeping army which had fought at South Mountain and Antietam, each line repeating the gladsome manifestations until the whole Union army knew that their terrible struggle with the haughty invaders had been a substantial triumph, of which the retreat of the enemy was the best possible evidence as well as a confession.

The Fifth Corps was now forwarded in pursuit, and the 131st moved first southward until we reached the Keedysville road, then we passed through the town of Sharpsburg, and took position on the right of the road leading to Shephardstown Ford, where we went into bivouac. The enemy was strongly posted on the opposite side, and General Porter determined to capture some of them. Generals Griffin and Humphrey, with a small detachment, crossed the river and succeeded in capturing five cannon, among them one of Battery D, of the Fifth United States Artillery, which had been lost at the first battle of Bull Run; but on account of some oversight this detachment was not supported and was withdrawn. The next morning a reconnaissance in force was sent over under Generals Morrell, and Sykes of the Regulars, of the Fifth Corps. This also proved unsuccessful, because it was not supported

by the cavalry as had been ordered. The rebels were in force near the river, and as our troops were re-crossing they were attacked in midstream by infantry and artillery, with fearful slaughter. The new Corn Exchange Regiment, of Philadelphia, the 118th, lost sixty-four men killed and 284 wounded. Lee then continued his retreat leisurely to the vicinity of Winchester, in West Virginia.

The Army of the Potomac now went into camp, where it remained for six weeks, until ordered forward by President Lincoln.

The 131st was placed on picket duty on the banks of the Potomac, between the canal and river, where we spent some time on duty. The enemy was seen on the opposite side occasionally, and our men took long range shots at anybody or anything in sight. Private Samuel Grove states that he and the others who were detailed in Washington City to attend the baggage of the division, having no teams for transportation, came up to the regiments about a mile or more beyond Sharpsburg. They had been sent by rail from Washington to Frederick City. From thence they were ordered to their regiments, which they vainly endeavored to find, but they followed the army and only overtook us after a most "lost dog" sort of a life in the rear of the victorious Union army which had fought the battles of South Mountain and Antietam. Some of the poor fellows who fell out of the ranks on our forced night march from Frederick City, did not reach the regiment for several weeks, and a few were permanently disabled.

THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM.

The Battle of Antietam was a great battle, and ranks among the most severely contested, by portions of the forces, though no very large proportion of the troops of the Union army were engaged at any one time. It was Lee's first great battle upon Union soil. It proved little less disastrous to him than his second and last one at Gettysburg. It ended the invasion; it saved the Capital; it afforded the proof that the Army of the Potomac could not be defeated, but that it could attack Lee's army in a strong position and compel him to retreat. The battle was the answer to Lee's assumption of superiority over the Army of the Potomac, his power to besiege Washington, and add Maryland to the Confederacy, and to transfer the war to Pennsylvania. These results, it was hoped, would secure recognition by France and England, and ultimate triumph of the Confederacy. The Union victory dispelled these and many other illusions at home and abroad.

McClellan's "Own Story" thus summarizes the results of the Battle of Antietam:

"Nearly 200,000 men and 500 pieces of artillery were for fourteen hours engaged in this memorable battle. Our soldiers slept that night conquerors on a field won by their valor and covered with the dead and wounded of the enemy. Thirteen guns, thirty-nine colors, 15,000 stands of arms and more than 6,000 prisoners were the trophies. Not a single gun or color was lost by our army."

The Union losses, as reported in General McClellan's report, were on the 16th and 17th, 2,010 killed; 9,416 wounded, and 1,043 missing; a total of 12,469. Most of our losses were sustained by a few divisions of the army, and two corps were scarcely used at all. Sedgwick's Division of the Second Corps alone lost 2,225, of whom 355 were killed. The rebel loss has never been known with accuracy. General McClellan reported that 2,700 of their dead were counted and buried by his men, and that many had been previously buried by their rebel comrades. Their total loss must have been at least equal in number to ours, and a very much greater percentage. It must be remembered that, though our army exceeded theirs in numbers, we were obliged to attack them in a strong position and we compelled them to retreat, and inflicted a greater proportionate loss upon them; a result which in many respects made this rank as one of the greatest battles of the war for the Union.

A little study of the battle will clearly disclose some of the mistakes which were made. On the part of Lee it was perhaps the poverty of his government as well as the weakness of his numbers that made it necessary for him to divide his army for the capture of Harper's Ferry, in the presence of McClellan's army. If McClellan had pressed his success on South Mountain, Lee's army would have been annihilated. It was a fatal delay which prevented an attack on the 16th by the whole Army of the Potomac instead of the attack of Hooker's First Corps alone. Hooker's movement gave Lee notice of where and how McClellan's attack was to be made, and that it would, in all probability, be made piecemeal, as it was. The attacks on the 17th were made in succession—first by Hooker, in which attack the Pennsylvania Reserves won new laurels, and gave Stonewall Jackson the most severe face to face attack he ever experienced. In the reports of the several commanders it cannot be definitely ascertained just how many men were engaged in this most terrific struggle by Hooker. Stonewall Jackson's report states that "fresh troops, from time to time, re-

lieved the enemy's ranks." This means that, as was known by our troops, Hooker's forces were brought into action successively, and not in full force. General Patrick, commanding a brigade, says that "the Twelfth Corps, General Mansfield, came into action in succession, and at considerable intervals." General Palfrey, in his "Antietam and Fredericksburg," says: "There are good grounds for believing that the Twelfth Corps received no assistance, or next to none, from the First Corps, Sumner's Second Corps did not go into action in a body. The marching and fighting of the three divisions of the Second Corps were so distinct that they must be described separately." Nearly all the troops of three corps, the First, Second and Twelfth, were engaged at some point of contact, but the striking fact remains that the Union troops at no time outnumbered the rebels, but, on the other hand, were several times outnumbered in action. Burnside's attack on our left was not made until long after the First, Second and Twelfth Corps had successively gone into action, and Franklin's Sixth Corps and Porter's Fifth Corps were not only not used as a whole, but as General Palfrey states, "they were broken up into divisions, if it can be asserted, indeed, that any whole division were used as a unit, or anything like it." It would be hard for the student who is carefully scrutinizing the details of this battle, to find the moment of time, or the place of actual contact when even 10,000 Union soldiers were engaged at one time. The claim of the friends of Lee that he was overwhelmed with numbers, is not warranted, but he brought into action his entire army, and at all points of contact he had equal or superior numbers. But the 10,000 engaged, and successively, along the historic turnpike, about the Dunkard Church, the cornfield, the east and west woods, the sunken road, it is true that it was for both sides one of the most stubbornly contested battles of the war.

The battle was opened by Hooker's First Corps, which made the attack on our right. The next stage was the advance of the Twelfth Corps under General Mansfield, in support of Hooker. Then Sumner's Second Corps was advanced, and the fourth stage was the slight use of our center, mainly of Franklin's Corps, Porter's strong corps in reserve; and lastly the attack of the Ninth Corps, by Burnside, on our left. After the successive assaults on the enemy on the morning of the 17th, by the three Union corps under Hooker, Mansfield and Sumner, who met Lee in his stronghold, held the line in battle, for more than six hours, steadily gaining ground and inflicting terrible losses upon him, with two corps practically fresh, McClellan

had it in his power to capture or destroy his army. Lee had brought into action all the men of all his corps. McClellan had probably 30,000 men—of the Fifth and Sixth Corps—who had not fired a gun. Had half this force been pushed forward after our victory at the sunken road, “when Jackson at last despaired,” Lee must have been driven from the field. Referring to this critical period the rebel general, D. H. Hill, in his report of the battle says: “There were no troops left to hold the center except a few hundred, rallied from various brigades, and the Yankees had got within a few hundred yards of the hill which commanded Sharpsburg, and the Confederate rear. Affairs looked critical.” McClellan had once determined to make this attack, but Sumner so earnestly opposed it, that he yielded to his opinion. Franklin had already commenced a movement, but McClellan now forbade the resumption of the battle. General Palfrey, in his “Antietam and Fredericksburg,” referring to this critical point, says: “It is probable, almost to a point of certainty, that if a good part of the Second Corps, part of the Fifth Corps, and all of the Sixth Corps, animated by the personal presence of McClellan, had attacked vigorously in the center—in front of Sharpsburg—and Burnside on the left, leaving part of the Fifth Corps and Pleasanton’s command to hold our center and cover our trains, the result would have been the practical annihilation of Lee’s army. Both McClellan and Sumner exhibited their deficiency in those qualities which appear to have been Grant’s most valuable endowments—absolutely clear conception of the end to be attained.”

The same author further comments: “Only one word more remains to be said about McClellan, and that is that at the instant he decided not to resume offensive operations on the right center and the right, he should have used every man and every gun he could possibly spare from Porter and Franklin to co-operate with General Burnside in the attack of the Ninth Corps by moving out to the south of the Keedyville road, where Pleasanton’s horse artillery and Sykes’ regulars had made an opening for an energetic movement to the left front of the Federal center. But as the sun sank to rest the last sounds of the battle along the Antietam died away. The cannon could grow cold at last, and our wearied men and horses could enjoy rest and food; but there were thousands already sleeping the sleep that knows no waking, and many times as many thousands who were suffering all the agonies that attend on wounds. The corn and the trees, so fresh and green in the morning, were reddened with blood and torn by bullet and shell, and the very

earth was furrowed by the incessant impact of lead and iron. The blessed night came, and brought with it sleep and forgetfulness and refreshment to many; but the murmur of the night wind, breathing over fields of wheat, corn and clover, was mingled with the groans of the countless sufferers of both armies. Who can tell, or even imagine, the horrors of such a night, while the unconscious stars shone above, and the unconscious river went rippling by."

The homes of the men of the 131st were numerously represented in other regiments, on other portions of this battlefield; and it may not be amiss, in a reminiscent way, to note some of the distinguished services which they rendered. Company D, Fifth Reserves, Capt. Monroe Chamblain, and Capt. Charles D. Roush's Company B, of the Sixth Reserves, were with Hooker's Corps and shared the honor of opening the battle and participated in the terrific charges and counter-charges on the evening of the 16th. George W. Schoch, editor of the *Mifflinburg Telegraph*, and William Beckley, William Searls, Samuel A. Reed, George C. Kelley, John V. Hafer and George Slifer, were members of Company D. Whilst these old companions were making history and winning imperishable honors on the right of the line, the gallant Fifty-first Pennsylvania, with its three Union county companies, were winning equal laurels and distinction on the extreme left of the line, when, with their namesake, the Fifty-first New York, they stormed the stone bridge, and opened the way to Burnside for his attack on the flank of the enemy. George W. Foote, editor of the *Mifflinburg Times*, was a member of Company E, and was wounded. Also Comrades Martin G. Reed, Cyrus A. Eaton, Isaiah Henry and John V. Rahl. Colonel Brooke's Brigade, with the colonel's splendid old fighting regiment, the Fifty-third, gained distinction in the capture of the "bloody angle," near the Piper house. With Company A, of the 132d Regiment, was the youthful John M. Hassenplug, brother of the captain of Company E, Fifty-first, who there paid the last and full measure of devotion to country, when his young life went out in the most terrific struggle of the great battle. The 132d belonged to Kimball's Brigade, French's Division of the Second Corps. They won distinction for having met the most terrific onset of the enemy in the celebrated cornfield, where with the Eighth Ohio and Fourteenth Indiana, they lost nearly fifty per cent. of their numbers, and later, with the Seventh Virginia (Union regiment) they, at a critical moment, dislodged the rebels from the cornfield, and thereby restored the Union line. In Battery

I, of the Fifth United States Artillery, Oscar G. Sands gallantly maintained our good military name among Sykes' Regulars. These incidents, it will be noticed, very closely identified nearly all the Union county soldiers, such as were represented by companies, or in considerable numbers, who were then in the service, with the leading events of the battle, viz: the opening, that carnival of death in the cornfield, the capture of the Burnner bridge, and for the 131st a front place in the attacking column, which was secured as a result of that night forced march, and which had emboldened General McClellan to order a renewal of the battle, but it was fatally delayed and Lee retreated.

In the seven days' battles before Richmond the Army of the Potomac lost in killed alone 1,582 men. The Union losses at Antietam, in killed alone was 2,010.

It should also be noted, that incidental to this battle, came the eventful Emancipation Proclamation, which finally abolished human slavery forever in the United States, and blotted out that discordant element and disgraceful feature in our fundamental law, and cleared the way for our higher destiny, and that the American Union might be in fact, as well as in name, "the land of the free and the home of the brave." President Lincoln had been besieged upon all sides by the conflicting interests of political parties on the subject of slavery, and its relation to the war for the Union against the new Confederacy, which was formed to perpetuate slavery. After our repeated defeats it was declared he had made a solemn vow that if Lee should now be defeated and driven back from Washington and Maryland, he would crown that result by issuing a proclamation forever abolishing slavery, and this he did immediately following our great triumph at Antietam.

President Lincoln, on August 22, 1862, when Lee was marching northward, gave public utterance to his views in the following logical and significant summary:

"If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to destroy or to save slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do so. If I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it. And if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would do that. What I do about slavery of the colored race, I do because it

helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I believe doing more will help the cause."

The elimination of slavery from its apparent security in the folds of the Constitution, was a triumph for the Union far greater than any other event of the war.

We now seemed to settle down into camp, not very far from Sharpsburg, where we were destined to remain in comparative idleness for six weeks.

TENTING ON THE POTOMAC.

It is much to be regretted that we have not been able to collect the many details which ought to be recorded concerning our stay after the battle of Antietam, on the northern banks of the Potomac. McClellan overestimated the forces in the ranks of the enemy and did not deem it safe for his superior army to follow, as Grant subsequently did, after the battle of the Wilderness, and pound and pound his enemy until he had him cooped up in Richmond and Petersburg, for final destruction. The President vainly urged action. It was claimed that the Army of the Potomac needed supplies, and was not ready for a movement.

The 131st quickly learned how to make themselves comfortable, and gave themselves to this duty, and were soon quite as well housed as their old comrades. They will recall how every house and barn, and almost every place of shelter in the vicinity of the battlefield, was filled with wounded Union and rebel soldiers, who mingled quite freely, and all seemed equally cared for by the skillful and humane hospital forces, supplemented by bountiful and personal service from the kind and sympathizing people of the North.

In our communication with the enemy we were impressed with the general lack of a conception of the relative strength and resources of the contending sections. There were, indeed, some who seemed hopeless and dispirited, but nearly all expressed themselves devoted to the secession cause, and were sure to be victors in the end. They could not even contemplate failure, yet the battle of Antietam was a great disappointment. It puzzled them, and they could not understand their defeat, which was not deemed possible. They were eager in their inquiries as to the condition of the people of the North, and were incredulous when reminded of the yet un-

used, or reserve power, as indicated by the presence of the Pennsylvania militia on the border, the uninterrupted business, our great resources and numbers, the failure of the Maryland people to rally to Lee's standard—all seemed impossible to them in their overzealous confidence in Lee and the Confederacy, and the abiding hope—that with their friends in the North, together with the forthcoming aid from England and France, they would yet, in some way, secure their final success. The poor fellows were ill-clad, but otherwise differed little in appearance to the old soldiers of the Union army after their long campaigns up from the Peninsula. In their bitterness against the North they represented the usual partisan spirit of the pro-slavery element, who were so intolerant and domineering. There were some, however, who confessed the hopelessness of their cause, and the intolerance and oppression of their leaders, who forced many of them into the army who were not secessionists. But the Confederate government was relentless, and admitted no division of sentiment, as was practiced in the North. But all the prisoners were free to confess their more than generous treatment by their captors, and by the good citizens of Maryland, in this vicinity.

The comrades of the 131st will remember with what mingled feelings we entered into our camp life with the veterans of many campaigns. The Army of the Potomac was back again on the banks of the Potomac, and was making itself as comfortable as possible in the great long lines of camps, extending above and below Harper's Ferry, from Williamsport to Sand Hook. The 131st occupied an exposed eminence, recently a rebel camp, which fact did not impress the men favorably, and they insisted on denominating it "Louse Hill," which was a suggestive, if not a pleasant sounding title. Official papers designated it "Camp near Sharpsburg." There was now considerable sickness—the men had not yet learned to take care of themselves, and the little regimental cemeteries soon claimed a number of the gallant boys who succumbed to the exposures and severity of the service. In these sad instances the excitement of war loses its grandeur and show, and the picture is well calculated to awaken reflections upon its horrors and its cruelties. The hospitals and the sick in quarters kept up alarmingly long lists of the men, and I keenly regret that I cannot give a list of those who died here, and were buried in the camp. The burial of a soldier, the slow and steady tramp of the comrades, and the martial music became a common occurrence, and occasioned little remark, however much may have been in the mind of the observer.

Many friends from the North now visited the army, and the various relief societies, the sanitary commission, and many other patriotic associations, as well as individuals, forwarded provision trains of good things for the comfort of the men who were fighting our battles for the preservation of the Union.

One the 1st day of October President Lincoln visited the army, remaining several days, and reviewed the troops. Our place on this memorable occasion is indicated in the following orders by our corps commander:

HEADQUARTERS FIFTH ARMY CORPS,
CAMP NEAR SHARPSBURG, MD., Oct. 2, 1862.

Circular.—The command will be reviewed at 10 o'clock a. m., to-morrow, by the President.

Divisions will be formed in line by brigades, brigades in columns of regiments, thirty paces apart, deployed ranks, open for review.

Sykes' Division will form on the right, Morrell's in the center, and Humphrey's on the left.

The commands will be in line at 9 o'clock. Division and brigade commanders are desired to meet the President at corps headquarters at 9:30.

Brigadier-General Sykes will designate a battery to fire the salute to the President.

Division commanders are desired to particularly examine the grounds in their vicinity with reference to attaining a suitable location for review.

By command of

MAJ.-GEN. F. J. PORTER.

(Signed) FRED. T. LOCKE, A. A. G.

These reviews were generally found to be a severe ordeal for the soldiers, especially if officers were not considerate for the comfort of their men. With the utmost care it was necessary for many troops to make long marches, requiring early starting; then there were tedious waits caused by obstructions of marching bodies; then, when in place, the long waiting in columns for the reviewing officers; then the review, sometimes requiring long and rapid marching in step, and then the hurried march back to camp—sometimes many miles—where many of the men would not arrive until after dark, having had no opportunity for a good rest or a full meal all day. But such a massing of a large army is a most inspiring event, and has many compensations for its severity. To one looking on it is hard to determine whether the gathering, the return, or the

review itself, is the most interesting to behold. Usually the troops appear in their best, and their long lines, over hill and dale, now hid and again appearing, as far as the eye can reach, is a sight most rare and imposing. Then the passing before the reviewing officer, in columns of companies, or sometimes by several companies, column after column, until all have passed a given point in front of the honored individual, and in the presence of the great leaders of these fighting men, who have, and are expected, to execute their orders. But, of course, it is all a part of the greater system of necessary discipline, which requires that the men be kept in best possible physical condition, and at all times, either by the march, or when in camp, by the unremitting drills, dress parades, inspections, musters and reviews, and all the greater and less requirements which constitute the life of the soldier in field service.

Notwithstanding conflicting reports of the condition of the army, the President was very favorably impressed with the spirit and condition of the men and officers. General McClellan had reported that the army was not in condition to undertake a continuance of the campaign, and that he now wanted to reorganize thoroughly and defend the line of the Potomac against Lee, who he supposed had superior numbers against him. Clothing and supplies were furnished without stint, and after a short rest it was hard to conceive why the army should be in less favorable condition for a movement than Lee's army on the other side of the river, which was then showing signs of great activity, although so severely handled in the recent battles. The Union army had been gathered from North Carolina, under General Burnside, from in front of Richmond, McClellan's men, and Pope's troops on the Rapidan, all now of the Army of the Potomac. They had defeated Lee, and the minor officers in command now determined that the men should enjoy the rest as we camped on the Potomac. We were exempt from the usual severe discipline of drill and fatigue duty, and the new troops, especially, had much to interest them in the new associations which surrounded them. Many of them had just fought equally well with the best soldiers of the old Army of the Peninsula. All had given the best evidence of their effectiveness, and they were now fully incorporated with the grand old Army of the Potomac—a distinction which is a valuable heirloom to any member of the 131st. Visiting and good living were general. The social and material interests were all that seemed possible under the circumstances. The regimental and line officers became better acquainted, and they applied them-

selves most industriously to their duties. Colonel Allabach was an old Mexican soldier, and his large experience was invaluable. The whole official family was fairly representative of the skill and efficiency which characterized the American soldier. The men were hardy and generally intelligent and representative Central Pennsylvania men. They were fully represented in all the various duties and details which were made for the camp service, and in the way of camp duties they were perhaps more ardent than the old soldiers. The new camps were kept scrupulously clean, and many of the tents and quarters were tastefully decorated with very creditable displays of evergreens, and other tasty embellishments.

General Briggs, our brigade commander, returned at this time and resumed command of the brigade, as will be seen from the official notice issued :

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE,
THIRD DIVISION, FIFTH CORPS.
CAMP NEAR SHARPSBURG, Oct. 10, 1862.

General Order No. 1 : In compliance with special orders, the undersigned assumes command of the brigade heretofore commanded by Col. P. H. Allabach.

All existing orders will remain in force until otherwise ordered.

The personal staff of the general commanding is announced as follows : Capt. Bryon Porter, assistant adjutant-general ; Second Lieutenant E. B. Whittlesey, Tenth Massachusetts, A. D. C. ; Capt. Archibald Hopkins, Thirty-seventh Massachusetts, A. D. C.

Capt. John W. Howland, adjutant quartermaster, having by the order of his appointment from the War Department, been directed to report to general commanding this brigade for duty, will enter upon his duty in that department in this brigade.

HENRY S. BRIGGS,
Brigadier-General, Commanding.

It was at this camp that one of Company A's most efficient sergeants was detailed as a clerk at division headquarters, as will be seen from the following official order :

HEADQUARTERS HUMPHREY'S DIVISION, FIFTH CORPS.
Oct. 8, 1862.

Special Order No. 7 : Sergt. Isaac Treat, Company A, 131st Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, is hereby detailed as

clerk at these headquarters, and will report in person at the office of assistant adjutant-general, as soon as possible.

By command of

BRIG.-GEN. A. A. HUMPHREY,

CARSON McCLELLAN, A. A. G.

Commander Division.

"Official." S. H. POLLOCK, A. A. G.

The sergeant was a good soldier and a good penman. He remained in this detailed service until the end of our term of enlistment, returning to the company only to take his musket whenever we were called into battle. At Fredericksburg he was wounded in the head, slightly, a ball passing through his hat and cutting "a shallow furrow" from his forehead to the back of his head—the boys said it could not get in—but it was a very close call. He was, like many of the detailed clerks of the regiment, orderly, industrious and methodical in his habits, and he received the most flattering commendation from General Humphrey for his satisfactory service. His comrades will bear witness that he also shot well.

On the night of September 23, 1862, whilst on duty as an officer of the guard, in making the "grand round" at midnight, I found a sentinel asleep at his post, an event I very much regretted. I halted the command and one of the corporals took his musket from him and placed his foot upon his person before the sentinel awoke. The soldier sprung up, and of course, was considerably confused, as he recognized that he was confronting the "grand rounds." In order to impress him, and for possible future use, I noted his name, company and regiment, as he gave them, and then called the sentinels on either side of him to witness, and also placed their names and their command upon my note book. The sleeping sentinel, now wide awake, was sent to the guard house, and another placed at his post. I found the soldier to be a mere boy. He had been disturbed the night previous to his being detailed, and got no sleep. He had been faithfully walking his beat for fear of sleep, but when quite exhausted he said he thought he would lie down only for a moment to rest—but he must have fallen asleep at once. After getting these details, I concluded to consider his case further before preferring charges, which were so serious, against him. I directed the officer who succeeded me to retain this soldier in the guard-house until next day, and then return him to his company. I had so thoroughly impressed the lad with the danger of his offense, both to himself and to his com-

rades, that I thought he would need no further punishment. Unfortunately the succeeding officer of the guard forgot his prisoner and my directions, and the poor fellow remained in the guard-house for several days, when an irate officer of the 155th Pennsylvania, called upon me to account for a man of his company, who was last under my command, and who had not been heard of since. It cooled his ardor when I related the story of his lost man. It seems he had been to division headquarters and made complaint that his man had not been returned. When General Humphrey, a regular officer and a strict disciplinarian, heard of the details, and that a sentinel had been found sleeping at his post in his division, he was greatly incensed and declared he would have an example made of this offender. It was not long coming, for the next day I received a note requesting my presence at division headquarters. It seemed a clear case as I related the circumstances to the general, as I had a record of the time and place and names of witnesses and the offender, and their companies and regiments. I was furnished the necessary blanks and was directed to prefer charges, make specifications, and was informed that he would convene a court martial and would give warning to his division by a terrible example.

To the soldierly methods of this excellent regular officer this offense appeared in its true significance. To the less exacting and more humane witnesses, extenuating circumstances suggested a less drastic remedy than an execution. But a court martial was at once convened, with Col. E. M. Gregory, of the Ninety-first Pennsylvania, as president. The witnesses all testified to the facts as stated, and agreed substantially, and the conviction of the boy soldier seemed to be quite beyond doubt. Before the last witness was dismissed an officer approached me and eagerly inquired about the young soldier, and wished to know who he was. "Why," he said "that boy may be shot tomorrow. Has he no friends?" I replied I could tell little about the man, and related my connection with the case. When I stated that I did not know the boy; that he and the witnesses were among a large detail from various regiments, and that it occurred at midnight, his legal training, for the officer was a distinguished lawyer, quickly caught hold of the question of identity, and when he learned that I possibly could not legally identify the man, upon a cross-examination, he secured my recall to the court. I had not previously considered this point of the case, and in my chief examination gave his name as I had entered it upon my memorandum, but when directly pressed to say that this boy was the one named, I could not do otherwise

than state that I did not know the boy, and gave his name and his identity only from the statement of the offender when I found him, as I had noted it, and had not known him, and had not seen him since. I could not, therefore, positively, from my own knowledge, testify as to his identity. The other witnesses were recalled, and they were equally uncertain. The result was that the verdict of the court martial was "not guilty."

General Humphrey was greatly displeased with this result, and roundly berated all concerned, in language more forcible than polite, as he was wont to do on occasions, and thereby gave rise to resentments which played a very important part in the history of the division. General Humphrey was satisfied of the guilt of the soldier, and he immediately re-convened the court and directed them to revise the proceedings. The result, together with the name of the soldier, and the charges and specifications are taken from the orders of General Humphrey, in the following extract :

"Private Robert Stevens, Company I, 155th Pennsylvania Regiment, on the following charges and specifications :

"Charges.—Sleeping on post.

"Specification 1.—In this, that Robert Stevens, private of Company I, 155th Pennsylvania Regiment, did lie down and sleep on his post ; the same occurring while a sentinel on duty on the 23d day of September, 1862, between the hours of 11 and 12 o'clock, at Camp near Sharpsburg, and on post No. 18.

"Specification 2.—In this, the said Robert Stevens, did, while asleep, suffer his gun to be taken from him, thereby endangering his own safety and the safety of the camp.

"To which charges and specifications, severally, the accused plead 'not guilty.'

"The court re-convened on the 10th instant in obedience to orders from these headquarters, to revise their proceedings, and adhere to the finding.

"In this case the proceedings of the court are disapproved. The acquittal appears to be based on the imperfect identification of the accused by Lieutenant Orwig. But Lieutenant Orwig also testified that the sentinel on the post adjoining that where he found the sentinel asleep, and took away his musket, gave his name as Sias ; and Private Sias testifies that the prisoner is Robert Stevens, and that he saw the officer of the guard take away his musket, and that he saw Stevens in the guard-house next day.

"Further evidence should have been taken to remove the doubt as to identity of the accused with the sentinel found

asleep by Lieutenant Orwig. It was the duty of the judge advocate to bring other witnesses before the court. The evidence, however, was sufficient to convict the accused. The finding is therefore disapproved. The extraordinary irregularity which extended throughout the whole proceedings of the court, closed as well as open, the presence of a person acting as clerk to the judge advocate, was animadverted upon when the proceedings were returned for revision, and another irregularity of a less serious character was likewise noted, the absence of members without explanation or due cause being assigned, so far as exhibited by the record.

"The court martial, of which Col. E. M. Gregory, Ninety-first Pennsylvania Volunteers, is president, is dissolved.

"By command of

"BRIG.-GEN. A. A. HUMPHREY,

"Commanding Division.

"Signed, CARSON McCLELLAN, A. A. G."

It was stated that reporters and a large number of army officers confidently expected a public execution at division headquarters, and the failure to convict young Stevens was therefore a great disappointment. The prisoner's life was doubtless spared by the friendly interest of the officer who found that the identity of the boy was not clearly shown, and had secured a recall of the witnesses, after his guilt had seemingly been clearly established. It is probable that the distinguished lawyer, who was also an officer in the division, keenly enjoyed the finding of the court, and that all the rights of that gallant young soldier who had innocently subjected himself to a fearful penalty, were properly secured to him in the case. He had no friends at his hand, but he was, nevertheless "somebody's darling," and was deserving of a better fate.

General Humphrey was an able and an accomplished soldier, but he had yet to learn, and he did learn, many necessary but valuable lessons in his command of Pennsylvania Volunteers.

On the 15th of October General Humphrey was honored with the command of a reconnaissance towards Kearneyville, Leetown and Smithfield, with artillery, cavalry and one brigade for each division of the Fifth Corps. General Porter's report states that "General Humphrey accomplished in a most satisfactory manner the object of the expedition and carried out most ably all the instructions of the commanding general, and was ably seconded by every officer of his command. General Humphrey was assigned to my command September 11,

1862. Tyler's brigade lost one man killed, nine wounded—two mortally, and three missing. They captured eight prisoners, twelve wounded, and four killed—one colonel, one lieutenant, two privates."

Vast quantities of quartermasters' and commissary stores were daily poured in upon the waiting Army of the Potomac, as it was reorganizing under the great organizer who was in command. The rebels on the other side of the river were paupers as compared with the men of our liberal and patronizing and long-suffering government.

Its great leader, the devoted Lincoln, and his advisers, were wearing their lives away and leaving nothing undone that might seem to hasten the overthrow of the new and hateful Confederacy, which so nearly succeeded in forever destroying the government of our fathers. But no time nor place seems to be exempt from the wiles of the evil and the selfish. Avarice and patriotism were not unmixed, and the army contractor, as well as the rebel army, were preying upon the long-suffering government. I was deeply impressed with this fact by the circumstances, which came to my knowledge at this time, officially, as a member of a "board of survey," of which I had been appointed to represent the 131st Regiment, as will be seen from the following order:

HEADQUARTERS BRIGGS' BRIGADE,
CAMP NEAR SHARPSBURG, MD., Oct. 16, 1862.

Special Orders, No. 4: A board of survey is hereby appointed to meet at tent of brigade commissary, Captain Steele, agreeably to notice, for the purpose of examining and reporting upon stores now in hands of brigade commissary.

Detail for the board: * * * First Lieut. J. R. Orwig, 131st Regiment. * * * The junior member, Lieutenant Orwig, will record the proceedings.

By order of
BYRON PORTER, A. A. G. BRIG.-GEN. H. S. BRIGGS.

These means were happily in the hands of the officers of the army for their protection, and the safety of the men, and faithless or dishonest contractors could thus be thwarted. These agencies were freely employed throughout the army, and untold sums were saved to the government, and the "board of survey" rigidly examined the stores and reported and condemned the tainted or inferior supplies, and all other materials of war which were supplied by contract, and were not as required by the government.

General Briggs was in delicate health, and was again obliged to relinquish his command, in which he had become greatly interested, and he did not again resume it. Colonel Allabach was again appointed to relieve him, and the Second Brigade was led by our colonel until the expiration of our term of service. General Briggs was a citizen of Massachusetts, and an able officer and courteous gentleman, who would doubtless have won distinction in the splendid field which was opened to him by his appointment to the leadership of this Pennsylvania brigade.

Every nook and cranny of the army was industriously looked after and the most careful provision made for earnest work ahead. Detail followed detail for every conceivable service, from the orderly or the pioneer, to the highest position, and the eye of the nation was on the head of the commander of the great Army of the Potomac, and ominously threatened to "detail" General McClellan to serve in New Jersey. Some of the details for the 131st are recorded in the following order:

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE,
THIRD DIVISION, FIFTH CORPS.

Special Orders, No. 7: The following enlisted men of this brigade are hereby detailed for duty in the brigade hospital, and will report to Acting Brigade Surgeon H. F. Martin, at 7 o'clock a. m., to-morrow:

From 131st Regiment, as hospital stewards, William Evert, Company C; Henry Hoffman, as druggist. As nurses, John Winegardener, Company A; William Hester, Company B; Wellington Houseworth, Company F; Peter Calhoof and James Beugler, Company I. As cooks, Samuel Long, Company D; Matthew B. Gardner, Company F.

Assistant Surgeon David J. Evans, 131st Regiment, will take charge of the brigade hospital. He will report to Acting Brigade Surgeon H. F. Martin, for instructions as soon as practicable.

By order of

COL. P. H. ALLABACH,
Commanding Brigade.

BYRON PORTER, Captain and A. A. G.

The first death in Company A occurred at Findley hospital, Washington, D. C., and was reported to the company November 10th, 1862. It was Private Jerre Hulsizer, one of Lieutenant Kepler's recruits, aged 18 years. He was stricken down by fever, and although sent to one of the best of our hospitals, his young life was yielded a sacrifice upon the altar of

his imperiled country, for which he had so recently and so freely and so cheerfully offered it. He died in the performance of a noble duty, no less so than if he had fallen a soldier on the battle-field.

“Why don’t the army move?” The errors of the battle of Antietam, so much discussed, were now almost forgotten, for the time, in the general clamor for the pursuit and the defeat of Lee, whose retreat from Antietam was plainly a confession of weakness, if nothing more. Everywhere the inquiry was re-echoed.

The long and trying delays before the wooden guns of Manassas, and the same disappointment on the Peninsula, were now coming up against McClellan with renewed vigor, and his great opportunity, presented by his reinstatement and his success at South Mountain and Antietam, was rapidly being lost, and not only lost, but his further usefulness became a serious question with many of his former enthusiastic admirers, and his attitude toward the administration gave rise to the gravest fears. But success would dispel all these misgivings and fears, and the President believed that the Army of the Potomac could now successfully cope with Lee. Upon his return to Washington, therefore, it was agreed upon to order an advance into Virginia. This would not only promote the success of McClellan, but would hasten the end of the rebellion. This seemed like a reasonable evidence of fidelity towards McClellan, and the sentiment of the soldiers rapidly centered upon the conviction that his complaints and severe reflections upon the authorities at Washington were ill-founded and unjust.

In McClellan’s “Own Story” is set forth a direct contradiction of what transpired at Antietam on the occasion of the President’s visit, stating that in his opinion longer delay was necessary and that the President fully coincided in this view and in his plans. As soon as the President returned to Washington, he directed General Halleck to telegraph McClellan to make preparation for an immediate advance, and give battle to Lee. General Halleck and Secretary Stanton fully concurred in these instructions. McClellan offered various excuses for not complying with this order, and insisted that his victorious army was not prepared to advance—but Lee’s defeated men were sent raiding into Pennsylvania.

The orders for an advance were several times repeated, but it was not until the 26th of October that the army began to cross the Potomac.

General Porter issued the following order to the Fifth Corps. It will serve to show how a great army is made to move compactly, and how important it becomes for each smaller division of the army to perform, promptly and precisely, the part assigned to each, down to the soldier in the ranks, who must keep his place and be ready to obey orders. The failure of a single link, by an error, or by neglect of a single officer, or of a man, has often resulted in loss, disaster, and defeat. And this was a besetting sin in the Army of the Potomac, until disciplined by many defeats, and under the eye of the great captain who led all the armies to the final triumph, and by his constant blows, pounded out the life of Lee's great army from the Wilderness to Appomattox:

HEADQUARTERS FIFTH ARMY CORPS,
CAMP NEAR SHARPSBURG, MD., OCT. 26, 1862.

Special Order No. 160: * * * * Orders having been received at an early hour this morning for the corps to be ready to march at six hours' notice, the commanding general directs that steps be taken to break camp and march at short notice, in order that every available man shall be in ranks and all in motion at the hour which may be designated.

As far as it is possible, supply trains of ammunition, provisions and grain will be packed, each wagon to be supplied with at least three days' grain, and more, if it can be carried.

On the march the men will carry three days' provisions in haversacks, and each division and brigade commander will look for and require their staff officers to take advantage on the march of every opportunity to renew their supplies of provision and grain.

During the march quartermasters and all others in charge of trains will accompany them, and see that they keep closed. Do not interrupt the movement of troops, and whenever they halt move over the right side of the road, unless otherwise specially directed.

On the march the pioneers will always precede the regiments, and be supplied with axes, picks and shovels. Their knapsacks, if it is possible, will be put in the company's wagons.

On arriving in camp the wagons will be parked as quickly as possible, and so as to be quickly run out in the line of march, and the quartermasters will see that their roads connecting with the main road are in proper condition.

The difficulties attending a march of large bodies of men,

in a country where the roads are narrow and the obstacles numerous, are such that the energetic efforts of every officer and man are required to remove the obstacles to an early and rapid march.

The combined efforts of all parties will thus render easy that which otherwise might be impossible.

By command of

MAJ.-GEN. F. J. PORTER.

(Signed) FRED T. LOCKE, A. A. G.

This order was read to every regiment in the corps, and similar orders to all the regiments of the army. Then we were off for the campaign against Fredericksburg.

CHAPTER V.

ANTIETAM TO FREDERICKSBURG.

THE Fifth Corps moved by way of Pleasant Valley from Sharpsburg to Harper's Ferry. The crossing of the Potomac was concluded on the 2d of November. Two bridges had been placed over the river at Harper's Ferry, and one lower down at Berlin. The Ninth Corps, the Reserve Artillery, Stoneman's Division, the First Corps and the Sixth Corps crossed at Berlin. The Second Corps and the Fifth Corps at Harper's Ferry, above the mouth of the Shenandoah. After crossing the Potomac, we then crossed the Shenandoah bridge, and over the Blue Ridge mountain into the lovely Loudon Valley, in the wake of the entire army.

When on the evening of September 18, the 131st was lying in line of battle, just near the brow of the hill which commands Sharpsburg, it was only a short month after the regiment had departed for the front from Harrisburg. It seems marvelous, even now, as we contemplate such an event. Nowhere than in America are armies created so suddenly. Now on the march, intermingled with the great Army of the Potomac, no perceptible difference was seen, and the new and old troops were thoroughly consolidated. Many of the new troops had fought equally well with the veterans of a year's campaigns, and in all the duties, as well as the lighter amusements and pastimes of the camp or the bivouac, the men were, in all respects, on terms of perfect equality.

The story of the regiment would not be complete without the story of the individual soldier, how he employed his time, and what were the various duties in the daily routine of his army life. As the army goes marching on, let us narrate a few available incidents. The brave boys who were winning our victories, and were making history to brighten the pages of the story of the United States, were also bright and intelligent, and their lives in camp would be an inviting field for pen and picture. The officers and men of our regiment had frequently been appealed to for such incidents in their personal experiences, a few of which were secured. One of the private soldiers who responded has given such a "lively" story I am constrained to give it entire, regretting that these pages cannot be embellished with many others of officers and men, with whom must perish so much that would not only entertain, but serve to



JOSEPH G. HUTCHISON,
FIRST LIEUTENANT COMPANY B.

give an insight to army life, such as cannot otherwise be told. The exacting, hard and toilsome duties of the camp, the march, the picket and the battlefield were so well and so freely performed that the lighter diversions, even if not always squaring with the law, civil or moral, would often be overlooked by officers just as a good school teacher sometimes "don't see" the escapades of the good pupils who transgress the laws of the school room. The "boys" have grown old and gray, yet Comrade Henry C. Diehl's story will no doubt take the reader back to the remarkable times when they were tenting on the Potomac or battling for the Union in old Virginia:

BLOOMER, OK. TERRITORY, JUNE 13, 1895.

CAPT. J. R. ORWIG,

My Dear Comrade: Pardon the long and inexcusable delay in replying to your kind letter and the earnest request that I give you some of the details of my service in your company, especially those relating to the three events which you name as "the pie story," "How you got hot coffee and new uniforms at Fredericksburg," and "Ordered to be shot at Chancellorsville." You know we were all under orders to be shot at all the time; but I understand what you wish to know and I will briefly relate the circumstances in the order of their occurrence.

The pie incident happened on the march from Harper's Ferry to Warrenton, on the movement upon Fredericksburg. Now, of course, I do not expect you to say anything directly, or publicly, about it, as that sutler might be about and present his bill for damages, and as the pies were really no good, and money being tolerably scarce at this particular crisis of political parties, I almost feel, anyhow, like forever repudiating this particular indebtedness for goods obtained under such difficulties. Of course, the sutler will not mind it so much if he never learns anything more about his pies than he learned through the official search through the 131st. So please be a little discreet about telling about it. Not that I care particularly for myself, or my part of the escapade, but I think the sutler has long ago counted them pies to profit and loss, and has dismissed it from his mind as well. But it would grieve me to know that any one might spend good money to collect that claim; so please, captain be cautious in extracting history from these personal experiences of your boys.

There was nothing wrong with the sutler, but the boys thought he had his pies marked too high, and we were paying too dearly for that particular whistle. Our good mothers were

to blame for our fondness for the pie luxury, which we learned young in good old Union county. Then Uncle Sam was to blame, too, for he did not include pie in his rations. But, captain, I thought the boys were sadly mistaken about the pies, and I concluded, upon mature reflection, when standing in the rain one night guarding the sutler's tent, that the pies were not only marked too high, but that they were setting too high. My comrades pronounced my discovery sound sense, and my tent-mates insisted that I was the only soldier in the regiment who had discovered a nice distinction between a high price and a high place as the one could be much easier overcome than the other.

You will all remember after we left Antietam we passed through that historic old place, Harper's Ferry. The whole Army of the Potomac was singing "John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on."

We passed up that beautiful little valley through Loudon county, memorable for apple jack and honey bees, besides other important historical events. It was near a little place called White Plains, where we camped for a few days—waiting for the front to move on. The sutler had just received a nice patented army sheetiron oven, and knowing the weakness of the inhabitants of that good land of the Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys, he felt sure that pies and hot cakes and bread would quickly and surely absorb all of the soldiers' pay, at least, if not a good deal more in notes, or bonds and mortgages, to be collected at home. My place as a sentinel was right by the sutler's tent. At about 10 o'clock at night, I think, I relieved Isaiah Katherman, of Company A, and he called my attention to a high stack of pies inside the tent, piled up by the stovepipe, in a pile as high as a barber's pole. I suggested that we ought to have some, as it was about time for a "10 o'clock piece." I was extremely fond of pies, but had a preference for custards. Isaiah said the pies were too high in price, and I suggested we would see. We stepped to the door of the tent and the little white-haired clerk had a light burning, but was in bed. He was just then doing the best job of snoring that I ever heard, and you know, captain, that I am a good and experienced judge of that kind of nocturnal music. I said to Isaiah, "I cannot see that the price is any too high; but I think the wrong consists in that stack being too high. I suggest that we sample them, for luck," so I mounted the side of the tent while the other guards promised to keep an eye for the sutler, and I took my musket and ran the bayonet down along

the stovepipe, as deep as I was able to insert it. The hole by the stovepipe was large enough to easily let them up by lifting my gun, for the pies were of such a texture and such a quality of "apple snitz," and were so firmly burned or dried that they would not slip off, and I lifted out as many as I could lift. When I got them up I asked Isaiah to hang on them and pull them off and I would get another "sample." We sampled the whole lot, and the little white-haired clerk snored away. Talk about pies—those were daisies!

Well, the next morning nearly every tent in the regiment had pies. You see we had plenty, and we thought the sutler would not know whom to arrest if all had pies. I think we put about six in your tent, and my recollection is that you did not snore quite so hard as Lieutenant Kepler did. Isaiah proposed to leave more at your tent, but I argued that these would last at least a month, which was long enough to look ahead for the uncertain life of a soldier, and besides I did not think it right to surfeit our officers on pies.

Captain, do you remember those pies? The fun the boys made of them? They said the sutler had put the shortening in the wrong way, and made a thousand such criticisms, and some said that the top and bottom crusts were made from some cheap sole leather scraps, or that they were baked from the hides of the division butcher's camp, where a herd of beeves were slaughtered and the skins were left lying upon the ground. I think the sutler's love for economy might have prompted this use of them. I noticed, and so did the other sentinels on duty that night, that they were gone, and we always firmly believed that the crusts were cut from their hides, with the hair turned in, and firmly charred together with the alleged dried apples, thinly placed, just so as to keep the top crust from caving in.

Now, if you give this secret away, Isaiah and I will testify that you got some of the pies—the stolen goods. We do not want anybody to know you were *particeps criminis*, although we could not testify that you ate any of them. Indeed we don't know if you could have eaten any of them. Now, in case the matter ever should come into court and it would involve you and Lieutenant Kepler, you can get my affidavit to the effect that you did not eat any of them—we always knew you were just a little tender-bitted, and it required a stiff biter to take a piece off them pies. Sturges Charles was as hard a biter as was in our company. I remember him having a pie right back of your tent. He was resting his chin on the hind wheel of a United States supply wagon, with his teeth firmly fixed in a pie, and

he wanted me to get on top of the wagon and jump down on his head so that he could get his teeth through the darn thing! Now, come to reflect, I do not believe the sutler could collect for the pies in any court of justice. If I could get a look at the reports of the several companies' roll books and see the names of the boys who missed roll call the first night after passing through Harper's Ferry, where some of the boys of the 131st tarried late, and did not overtake the regiment until morning, I could name every soldier of the regiment who could bite through one of them pies.

Where is Sutler Barber now? And where is Reuben F. Brown, the clever fellow who succeeded him? Is he the Brown who was recently elected sheriff of Union county?

The sutler of the 131st was a "good fellow," but he was a little hard on the boys, and he missed it terribly on the pies. I have thought often since that they were baked to be stolen and for a joke on the sentinels, knowing well the strong appetite of the soldiers. If you find out that what I have told you might place anyone in a wrong light, or have any innocent ones suffer, let me know, and I will write some of the boys, who will raise a jack-pot and make everybody happy as we were when we soldiered together in the old Army of the Potomac.

I will write the details of the other incidents later on.

Yours with best wishes in F. C. & L.

HENRY C. DIEHL.

Raids upon the sutler were not infrequent, but usually they were prompted by some real or fancied grievance. Many of the men of the 131st will recall the event which Private Diehl so confidently relates, but the captain of Company A was not partial to sutler's pies. An investigation and search was ordered from regimental headquarters as a result of this rather irregular requisition by unauthorized soldiers upon an unoffending sutler, and the searching party was sent through the camp of the 131st to find the goods and arrest the offenders. They began at Company A, and I felt sure no traces of pies nor of guilt would be left by any member of that Hartleton contingent. They passed through all the company grounds, but no pies were discovered, or any other tell-tale traces of the raid. No sooner had the searching detail left the first company grounds than Private Diehl appeared at company headquarters and inquired if the officers of the company were fond of pies, and if so, that he would be delighted to have them accompany him to his tent. And it is true that these officers indicated

a weakness, at least for pies, which secured their prompt compliance with the request, and they accompanied him to his tent. An ingenious contrivance for a "double end" to their tent, which they called their cupboard, secured the booty, and upon letting this down by unbuttoning the canvas, there were stacked piles of pies to which the liberal soldiers freely invited us to help ourselves. A code of law and morals was extant, which seemed to justify such things, and the boys, possibly, might have safely invited the searching posse back, or sent a stack of pies to the regimental headquarters, or to any company of the regiment, save only that the sutler should not get the secret. He had a hold on the paymaster!

The date of our breaking camp near Sharpsburg was October 30, although the army began to move on the 26th. We then marched eastward and southward through the mountain gaps into that beautiful Pleasant Valley, then west and north-west to Harper's Ferry, arriving there on the 31st. There was great interest manifested by the soldiers in this historic place, especially as the scene of the John Brown raid. Up in the mountains, down in the valleys, and by the rivers, before and after passing over the bridges, all the regiments of the army, I believe, at one period or another, joined in the great chorus, "John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on." Its literal truthfulness was universally observed and remarked, and the recent proclamation of the President, forever abolishing slavery, gave emphasis to the event, and as the great Union army went marching southward one could not help feeling that it was, indeed, executing the will of old John Brown, as it was wiping out slavery and subduing the men against whom John Brown marched, and who there captured him and quickly led him to trial and execution. Not, indeed, in the same relation, for John Brown's soul was in the Army of the Potomac, and his enemies were in the rebel army before us, with a hostile flag and making war upon the government. The marching and singing columns were both forever liberating the slaves and subjugating the captors and executioners of Brown, now traitors themselves. John Brown's unlawful act was quickly punished by the extreme penalty, but his persecutors, although engaged in a much greater raid upon the government, were spared all penal punishment. A great and humane people, doubtless correctly, assumed that they had themselves brought upon themselves sufficient punishment.

Every member of the regiment will recall Company A's "fiddle." It originally belonged to Sergeant Barnes, but for a

long while, under friendly or adverse circumstances, in rain or sunshine, there never failed to be some demonstration of terpsichorean revelry every evening unless the men were on duty. By some means or other this violin was always cared for. On the heavy marches, clothing or rations might be abandoned, but the violin never. There would always be some friendly deliverer of the company's only musical instrument. It became quite noted throughout the division, and when for some time our stay was prolonged in any one camp, so as to afford the opportunity, many quite pretentious dances were gotten up among those who loved to "trip the light fantastic." It was a source of much innocent amusement. It was finally irretrievably ruined and lost on the deplorable "muddy march."

The progress of the army through the Loudon Valley was uneventful. On the 1st of November the Fifth Corps bivouacked near Hillsborough, and on the 2d at Snickersville. The rebel generals, Gregg and Thomas, made a dash into Snicker's Gap with about 5,000 men, and were easily driven away, but our division was taken up into the side of the mountain near the gap, where we remained until November 6th, when we marched to White Plains. Our stay here was made disagreeable by a snow storm and cold weather. On November 8th we reached New Baltimore. It was in this vicinity our march was delayed by a muster for pay. All the tedious details were gone through with, and then we resumed the march with many visions of a coming paymaster—some time. It was, possibly, this prospect, with other guileless considerations, which led to a little episode, in which three sergeants—Halfpenny, Barnes, and Shriner—appeared as principals, and which they will attest. The roads were muddy, the weather wet and cold—altogether the marching was very disagreeable. Some one reported a "commissary" in a park of army wagons, about five miles in the rear, and these sergeants made themselves bold to request an order for three canteens of whiskey. Whether it was on account of the general gloom of the situation, or the very boldness of the request, or otherwise, after a square promise not to abuse the trust, an order was given for the envied rations. It was very doubtful if a friendly commissary could be found, but it was not many hours until the messenger returned with the envied subsistence and the three sergeants. They were disputing as to its disposition, and they appealed to their captain to direct what should be done with it. They looked so honest and sober I was encouraged to believe they would not violate the trust, and they were advised to take two canteens along the

line and give any seemingly suffering fellow soldier a "dose," as a counter-irritant against the irritating weather. Then the three carefully use the other canteen for the long and dismal and toilsome march ahead. It was an astonishing innovation in the company, and many expressions of surprise and wonder greeted them as they passed those canteens around. But it was not long until the sergeants again appeared. They could not agree as to which of them should carry the remaining canteen, as each professed to believe the other rather unsafe; but they could all agree quite freely that the captain of Company A should carry it, and then, you see, he could also regulate its use! By this time the "nigger in the woodpile" was so transparent that he could not be mistaken, but the captain kept his eye on the sergeants. They were too kind for anything. They came so considerably and so often, and suggest so kindly to take "a smile" with the captain! And the captain responded, wonderfully, for one who did not use intoxicants, and the thing seemed so easy, and would work all right. But Warrenton was reached and the march was delayed, soon after noon, and a prolonged halt was indicated, which was soon verified by an order to pitch our tents. Their designs had seemingly worked so well it was now a matter of surprise to them that the captain was not "tight as a brick" by this time, for three of them who had been alternating drinks with him were now quite "so-so" as they emptied the canteen, and they hung around to see. Yet notwithstanding the miserable weather, there never was a jollier set than the three sergeants who had entered into a conspiracy to get their captain "tight." But I can bear testimony to the honor and credit of the men of the 131st, that comparatively few gave offense on account of the abuse of the "canteen."

CHANGE OF COMMANDERS.

Whilst the men were luxuriating in pies and sutler supplies at White Plains, the event of the campaign up to this date was taking place at army headquarters. This event was no less than the removal of General McClellan and his final retirement from the army. This now became the absorbing topic which was variously discussed. On the evening of November 7th, just after orders had been given to concentrate the army at Warrenton and vicinity, during a violent snow storm, somewhat early for that locality, General Buckingham, an officer on special duty at the War Department in Washington, accompanied by General Burnside, called upon General McClellan, then in the vicinity of Salem, and delivered an order from the

President, relieving him of the command of the Army of the Potomac, and appointing General Burnside to the position. Up to this time General McClellan and General Burnside had been upon the most intimate terms, and Burnside at first declined to accept, but General Buckingham was authorized to say that if he did not accept, that General Hooker, or another, would be appointed, when he reluctantly yielded, as it was his duty to do, and General McClellan also advised him to do so. It was a period of great excitement, and the event caused intense feeling, but it was now looked upon as inevitable, on account of the growing distrust, and the inability of McClellan to successfully and satisfactorily command so large an army. Outside the army, also, his unfriendly relations with the War Department and his political heresies to which he was giving prominence, bore heavily against him. General Burnside frankly stated that he did not want to command, and he felt himself incompetent to successfully command so large an army, but as it was an order, he could not disobey. By an agreement between them General McClellan remained with the army two days, until the orders of the 7th had been executed, and the army was secure on its new base on the railroads connecting with Washington.

Great consideration was shown to the retiring commander, who was given the opportunity for a formal leave taking. The entire army was, on October 9th, drawn up as for review, and the new leader, with General McClellan and a great retinue of friends, made the entire circuit, passing from corps to corps, until all had been finally reviewed. General McClellan was ordered to Trenton, N. J., to await further orders, but he soon afterwards resigned his commission, and took no further part in the war.

Of this event the Historian Palfrey says: "His interminable and inexcusable delays upon the Peninsula offered just grounds for dissatisfaction, and these seemed, to say no more, to be followed by similar delays on the Potomac." On the 28th of June, 1862, McClellan wrote to Secretary Stanton: "You have done your best to sacrifice this army." Such a statement would have been visited by the severest summary punishment in any other country.

In his Harrison Bar letter, on the Peninsula, he said to President Lincoln: "Neither confiscation, political executions of persons, territorial organization of States, or forcible abolition of slavery should, for a moment, be contemplated."

In his letter to Secretary Stanton, July 8th, 1862, upon the

subject of "My Views," he said: "The nation will support no other policy. None other will call forth its energies in time to serve our cause. For none other will our armies continue to fight."

These brief extracts, which might be indefinitely extended, sufficiently indicate the extraordinary attitude which McClellan assumed. The cordial and harmonious relations necessary to success, if the Union was to be maintained, and which should exist between the Executive and the War Department, and the Commander of the Army of the Potomac, were now out of the question. When, therefore, all hope for harmony was given up, President Lincoln, as was his habit, took upon himself the responsibility of settling the trouble by his removal. The country and the army quickly yielded to the judgment of the great leader, as the following Presidential election demonstrated. The opposition to the war succeeded in nominating McClellan as their candidate, on a platform declaring the war a failure, against Abraham Lincoln, and they were overwhelmingly defeated by the people.

General McClellan had been the idol of the army. But his failures lost him the confidence of the advocates of the war. That he was unable to command 100,000 men was his misfortune, not his fault. That he entertained adverse political views to the administration and differed with the War Department, was his privilege. But to insist upon his own way and to interpose "his views," as he frequently did, and especially to declare that the nation could not continue to sustain their policy, was not a privilege, nor was it wise nor truthful. Probably his most fatal defect was his indecision in time of battle, and his overestimation of the strength of his adversary, and at the same time to underestimate the strength of his own forces. Thus, when urged to follow up the victories of South Mountain and Antietam, after being reinforced and well supplied, on September 22d, he wrote: "The fact of the enemy remaining so long in our front and the indications of an advance and reinforcements seem to indicate that he will give another battle, with all his available strength. Our army has been very much reduced in the recent battles." On September 27th he again wrote: "I rather apprehend a renewal of the attempt on Maryland. In the last battle the enemy was undoubtedly greatly superior to us in numbers."

General Palfrey, the historian, declared that "he was totally devoid of ability to form a just estimate of the numerical strength of his opponent." But the President's removal of Mc-

Clellan "punctured" the schemes which were being built upon "McClellanism" in the army. It had grown to be a danger from the day of wooden guns at Manassas, through the dismal swamps of the Peninsula, on to the mutterings of political power and inexcusable inaction and delay on the banks of the Potomac. Innocent admirers and adherents of McClellan were slow to yield their fidelity, and he had enthusiastic admirers to the end. This removal marked an epoch in the history of the war, and it was a natural sequence to the proclamation of emancipation and the wiping out of slavery from its folds in the Constitution.

Having performed the ungracious duty of recording these views, and the mysterious and ominous utterances of our general and his inexplicable military delays and inaction, it is a pleasure to say that his personal character and social qualities afforded very much to admire, and it is a pleasure to write this of him. He was also a religious man, and a model husband and father. He undoubtedly had great military qualities, and he was loyal to the Union, for all of which he will be justly held in grateful remembrance by the American people.

General Burnside was received with marked enthusiasm by the soldiers of the old Army of the Potomac, and especially by the new troops. We remember with pleasure how with cheers, the throwing up of caps, and every other conceivable means of joyous demonstration were made when the new leader appeared among the men. It was not to the discredit of General Burnside that he was himself the most diffident and the least enthusiastic on account of his promotion. He had previously declined the appointment when offered to him. He frankly stated his inability to command so large an army. But now he accepted the duties imposed upon him by the order, and he was now determined to succeed, if possible, and he invoked the generous aid of all his army officers and the army.

I am reluctant to place upon these pages what were my own opinions from personal experiences and observation of the Fredericksburg campaign under General Burnside. I believe the movement of the army and the plan of battle were devised by the best military and official skill which was available, and it should have resulted in success under all the conditions, except for the one thing the Army of the Potomac had not yet learned, but was taught by the discipline of defeat.

Success is the standard by which military men are judged. Burnside's attack on Fredericksburg failed—he failed to move as rapidly as was necessary—possibly not his fault. He

failed in his second attempt—the “muddy march.” He frankly accepted all responsibility, and then requested to be relieved.

There existed a spirit of rivalry among the generals bordering on insubordination. I believe it was so great at this time as to have made it impossible for General Burnside to succeed, or for any other officer then in command in any of the army corps of the Army of the Potomac. The writers who have so generally pictured the great battle of Fredericksburg as a colossal failure, and without plan, it will be noticed uniformly admit that the success of our army was undoubtedly greatly lessened by jealousy, distrust, and a general want of the *entente cordiale*.

After the departure of General McClellan, the army was consolidated into three grand divisions. The right was given to Gen. E. V. Sumner, and consisted of the Second Corps, General Couch, and the Ninth Corps, General Wilcox. The center was given to Gen. Joseph Hooker, and consisted of the Third Corps, General Stoneman, and the Fifth Corps, General Butterfield, (General Porter having been relieved upon charges preferred by General Pope). The left was assigned to Gen. William B. Franklin, and comprised the First Corps, General John F. Reynolds, and the Sixth Corps, Gen. William F. Smith. The Eleventh Corps, under General Sigel, and the Twelfth Corps under General Slocum, constituted the reserve division. Major-General Morrell was placed in command of the upper Potomac, in place of General Slocum. Brig.-Gen. H. J. Hunt was chief of artillery, and the cavalry was under the command of Generals Pleasanton, Averill and Bayard.

In obedience to the orders which accompanied his appointment to the chief command, General Burnside at once submitted a plan of operations to General Halleck, at Washington, who immediately made a visit to the army at Warrenton, as he did not entirely approve the plans, but favored an advance by way of Culpepper and Gordonville, on the upper Rappahannock. The matter was then submitted to the President by General Halleck, who assented to General Burnside's plan. A feint was to be made upon Culpepper and the upper fords, but at the same time a rapid move was to be made upon Fredericksburg, with a view upon Richmond from that vicinity.

It will be remembered that after the battles of South Mountain and Antietam, all the various lines of advance were well considered and generally discussed before General McClellan was ordered to advance. The objection which McClellan chiefly urged was that the railroads having been destroyed, the army could not be subsisted from the base at Harper's

Ferry. General Burnside's plan adopted the inner line, permitting shorter lines between Washington and the army, and for supplies as the army advanced, first by the Manassas railroad, then from Aquia Creek, and the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg, and then the nearer points along the coast all the way to Richmond.

In this connection it may not be amiss to recall the letter of President Lincoln to General McClellan on the subject of a line of operations to be pursued, written to him after the battle of Antietam:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 13, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL McCLELLAN.

My Dear Sir: You remember my speaking to you of what I called your overcautiousness. Are you not overcautious when you assume that you cannot do what your enemy is constantly doing, and should you not be at least equal in prowess? As I understand, you telegraphed General Halleck that you cannot subsist your army at Winchester unless the railroad from Harper's Ferry to that point be put in working order. But the enemy does now subsist his army there, at a distance nearly twice as far from his railroad. He now waggons from Culpepper, which is just about twice as far as you would be from Harper's Ferry. He is certainly not half as well supplied with waggons as you are. I certainly should be pleased for you to have the advantage of the railroad, but it wastes all the remainder of the autumn to give it to you. * * * Exclusive of the water line, you are now nearer Richmond than the enemy is, by the route that you can take and he must. Why cannot you reach there before him, unless that you admit that he is more than your equal on a march? His route is the arc of a circle, while yours is the chord. The roads are as good on your line as are his. You know I advised, but did not order, you to cross the Potomac below, instead of above the Shenandoah and Blue Ridge. My idea was that this would at once menace his communications. If he should move North I would follow him closely. If he should prevent our seizing his communication, and move towards Richmond, I would press closely to him—fight him, if a favorable opportunity should present, and at least try to beat him to Richmond on the inside track. I say "try"—if we never try we shall never succeed. If he makes a stand at Winchester, I would fight him there, on the idea that if we cannot beat him when he bears the vantage of coming to

us, we never can when we bear the vantage of going to him. This proposition is simple, but it is too important to be lost sight of for a moment.

In coming to us he tenders us an advantage which we should not waive. We should not so operate as to merely drive him away. As we must beat him somewhere, or fail finally, we can do it, if at all, easier near to us than far away. If we cannot beat him where he now is, we never can, he again being in his entrenchments at Richmond.

Recurring to the idea of going to Richmond on the inside track, the facility of supplying from the sideway from the enemy is remarkable, as it were, by the different spokes of a wheel extending from the hub towards the rim, and that whether you move directly by the chord, or inside arc, hugging the Blue Ridge more closely, the chord line, as you say, carries you by way of Aldie and Fredericksburg, and you see how turnpikes, railroads, and finally the Potomac River, by Aquia Creek, meet you at all points from Washington. The same, only the lines are longer, if you pass the Blue Ridge, part of the way. * * * This is in no sense an order.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

No one can presume that General Burnside had not considered the plan of campaign. The favorable contrast which his prompt submission of his plans and his prompt orders for movement present a striking contrast to the slow and halting movements of General McClellan, and will forever be his proud distinction. He tried. That he caught inspiration of our great leader, Lincoln, as well as from the great patriotic masses of the North, cannot be doubted.

On the 9th of November General Burnside had prepared and then forwarded to Washington, substantially, the following definite plan of operations, and requested its approval: He proposed to move at once. The disposal of his troops should be such as to lead Lee to suppose he would advance by way of Culpepper and Gordonsville, but as soon as necessary supplies were distributed he would make a rapid movement of his whole force upon Fredericksburg, and to Richmond on that line.

The advantages seem to be that if we move by way of Culpepper or Gordonsville, and have a battle there, even in our favor, the enemy will have many lines of retreat to Richmond, and if he left any forces on our right it would render an advance by our army very precarious. Should he retreat without a bat-

tle, we would have to follow, with interior lines of supplies and reinforcements in the enemy's favor. In moving by way of Fredericksburg there is no point at which we will not be nearer Washington than the enemy, and we will, also, all the time, be on the shortest line possible to Richmond, the taking of which, at this time, would tend more to cripple the rebel cause than any other military event, except the absolute breaking up of their army.

The presence of the Army of the Potomac at Fredericksburg would render it almost impossible for the enemy to make a movement on Washington.

It will be necessary in connection with this plan, to start at once from Washington or Alexandria, the pontoons and supplies, overland, or by barges. After reaching Fredericksburg our wagon trains can be organized and kept in readiness with supplies, when a rapid movement can be made direct upon Richmond. If detained by the elements it would be a much better place to winter. He requested the approval of the organization of three grand divisions, with enlarged powers, and the appointment of the ranking generals to their commands.

As previously stated, General Halleck did not entirely approve the plan, and held a conference with General Burnside at Warrenton on the 11th of November, but the plan so promptly and fully submitted, covering a definite and extended campaign, was agreed to, and orders were accordingly issued, and General Burnside's army began to move on the 15th of November.

Before General McClellan was removed he had given an order, on the 6th of November, to his chief engineer, to have all the pontoon bridges at Harper's Ferry taken up and sent to Washington. It will also be noted that General Burnside called attention to this and declared "it would be necessary to start at once from Washington or Alexandria, the pontoons and supplies, overland or by barges."

Frequent consultations with his grand division commanders, as well as his corps commanders, fairly establishes a presumption, at least, that there was a plan of campaign, as well as a plan of battle, and these were well understood, and a long-suffering and patriotic people, together with the rank and file of the ill-fated Army of the Potomac, had their hopes renewed, and they very generally manifested the consolation which it gave.

The vicinity of Warrenton is very beautiful. The men of the 131st will never forget the day we started upon the new

campaign and marched in compact columns through the streets of that beautiful little city of Warrenton, which was occupied by the rebels again as soon as we had passed.

LEAVING WARRENTON.

The right grand division moved on the 15th of November; the center and left and the cavalry on the 16th, and they arrived in front of, or opposite, Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock River, on the 17th, 18th and 19th, respectively. General Humphrey's Division, with the Fifth Corps, with the 131st, advanced by way of Warrenton Junction, where we bivonacked, and then by way of Spotted Tavern, to our position in camp near Fal-mouth, on Potomac Creek, several miles from the river, with the center grand division and with the Fifth Corps and the Third Division.

The total present for duty on the morning of November 10th, as shown by the morning reports of that day, was 127,574. When General Burnside assumed command there were present 3,911 army wagons, 907 ambulances, 7,139 artillery horses, 9,582 cavalry horses, 8,693 team horses, 12,483 mules, a total of 37,892 animals and 5,000 wagons. This did not include the Third, Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, which subsequently joined the Army of the Potomac, and increased the aggregate to 63,000 animals. If the beef cattle were added, it would have presented the spectacle of about equal numbers of men and animals, or a total of 255,000 men, horses and cattle, in the mighty column which General Burnside, together with the sorely-tried officials at Washington were wielding to hammer out the life of the new rebel government at Richmond, which was seeking to destroy this great Union. How little could be seen of all this great body by the individual soldier in the ranks, as we marched along.

WAITING BEFORE FREDERICKSBURG.

The movement of the army was prompt and successful. The transfer from Warrenton to the Rappahannock, a distance almost as great as that from Washington to Frederick City, Md., was accomplished in two days. The rebel army under General Lee was now scattered from the valley to Gordonsville down to and below Fredericksburg. From the morning reports on December 10, just before the battle of Fredericksburg, the rebel army reported "present for duty" 78,228 men. The sudden placing of this vastly superior army on the banks of the Rappahannock should have enabled its commander to advance upon Richmond successfully, if a crossing of the river was safely effected. It was on this account Halleck chose the upper

fords, where no pontoons were needed. But its disadvantages consisted in its longer lines of approach, and greater distance from the base of supplies.

The army was now well equipped and its *morale* splendid, to all appearances, and could have easily taken possession of Fredericksburg, but for the absence of the pontoons. But the first failure was about to occur. General Hooker wished to cross at once with his grand division, but, unless supported, he would be in danger by the concentration of the enemy upon him. Burnside did not permit him to do so. The plan of advancement had been fully considered. When the army moved from Warrenton all authority and responsibility were fully committed to General Burnside. Frequent consultations and the presence of the three grand division commanders, who had been given enlarged powers for the very purpose of enabling them to be more effective on the battlefield, seemed to have left nothing undone by the new commander. But the pontoons which were ordered to Washington from Harper's Ferry by McClellan, and to Fredericksburg by Burnside, and ought to have been there then, were still at Washington, and the movement was therefore delayed. The Rappahannock is navigable to this point, and above the city the recent rains had greatly swollen the stream. This made it impossible for Burnside to reap the advantage of the weakness of Fredericksburg, and the delay permitted Lee to concentrate his forces again in front of his new antagonist. Every other detail seemed to have been well executed. Supplies in sufficiency came by Belle Plain and Aquia Creek. The wharfs were repaired and the new and convenient base afforded a most desirable point for supplying the army here and when it advanced beyond Fredericksburg.

General Burnside now promptly informed General Halleck that the pontoons had not been placed there, and that the fords were not passable for infantry and artillery, and his progress was arrested. He reported that he would move over as soon as the pontoons arrived, as the enemy did not seem to be in great force on the opposite side. The bridges did not arrive, and on the 22d he sent the following earnest plea and statement covering the situation completely:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
NEAR FALMOUTH, Nov. 22, 1862.

General: By reference to my plan of operations, submitted by order of the commander-in-chief, it will be found that one of the necessary parts of that plan was to have started from Washington at once pontoons sufficient to span the Rappahan-

nock at Fredericksburg twice, and I was assured that at least one train would leave as soon as the general-in-chief and General Meigs returned, (November 13,) and I proposed, if an escort was required and I was informed by telegraph, I would furnish it from my cavalry. Receiving no information of its departure, I ordered Lieutenant Comstock to telegraph in reference to it. It is very clear that my object was to make the move to Fredericksburg very rapidly, and to throw a heavy force across the river, before the enemy could concentrate a force to oppose the crossing, and expected the pontoons would arrive at this place nearly simultaneously with the head of the army. Had that been the case the whole of General Sumner's column—33,000 strong—would have crossed into Fredericksburg at once over a pontoon bridge, in front of a city filled with families of rebel officers and sympathizers with the rebel cause, and garrisoned by a small squadron of cavalry and a battery of artillery, which General Sumner silenced within an hour after his arrival.

Had the pontoons arrived even on the 19th or 20th, the army could have passed over with trifling opposition. But now the opposite side of the river is occupied by a large rebel force under General Longstreet, with batteries ready to be placed in position to operate against the working parties and the troops in crossing.

The pontoons have not yet arrived, and the river is too high for the troops to cross at any of the fords.

You can readily see that much delay may occur in the general movement, and I deem it my duty to lay these facts before you and to say that I cannot make the promise of probable success with the faith that I did when I supposed that all the parts of the plan would be carried out.

Another material part of the proposition was for stores to be sent, with all surplus wagons in Washington, which would probably have supplied our army with from five to ten days' provisions. These trains could have moved with perfect safety, as they would have been protected by the movement of this army. I do not recall these facts in any captious spirit, but simply to impress upon the general-in-chief that he cannot expect me to do as much as if all the parts of the plan had been carried out. In fact a force can be arrayed against us at this place that would very naturally retard us.

The work of quartermasters' and commissary departments at Aquia Creek or Belle Plain has been most completely accomplished, and I am not prepared to say that every effort has

not been made to carry out the other parts of the plan, but I must in honesty and candor say I cannot feel that the move indicated in my plan of operations will be successful after two very important parts of the plan have not been carried out, no matter for what reason.

The President said that the movement, in order to be successful, must be made quickly, and I thought the same.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

A. E. BURNSIDE.

On the 12th of November Colonel Spaulding, who was in charge of the pontoons, was still quietly encamped with his detachment at Berlin, near Harper's Ferry. On the afternoon of that day he received an order from the Chief Engineer of the Army of the Potomac, Capt. J. C. Duane, dated November 6, in substance as follows :

"Proceed to Washington with the balance of your command and make up a pontoon train on wheels as speedily as possible, with the necessary transportation, and be prepared to march at a moment's notice."

The order was received at 2 o'clock on the afternoon of the 12th, six days after it had been written, it having passed by Rectortown (General McClellan's headquarters) and Washington City. At 6 o'clock the bridges had been taken up and a train of thirty-six boats was made up in rafts on the canal, and was on its way to Washington City. At 10:30 next morning a train of forty more boats and all the remaining material was on the way, the boats by canal and the wagons by land, accompanied by the remainder of the command.

Colonel Spaulding took the cars for Washington and arrived there at 10:30 p. m. on the 13th, and next day he was ordered by General Halleck, through General Woodbury, to put his pontoons and material in depot, as fast as it arrived, and go into camp with his men. The order to make up a land train at Washington "*was thus countermanded*," and knowing that General McClellan had been relieved, after the order had been given, Colonel Spaulding inferred that the plan of campaign was changed, and the pontoon train was not required. In response to General Burnside's inquiry, the pontoons were now again sent forward, and the pitiful story of their transmission is little less pathetic than the distress of the Army of the Potomac so seriously embarrassed by their non-arrival, when so indispensable to the campaign. The officers of the train were seemingly anxious to perform their duty, but between conflict-

ing orders and the confusion incident to the making up of the trains, together with untoward weather, caused such delay as to defeat the plan of the campaign at this point.

In reply to the inquiries concerning the pontoons General Burnside received the following:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 14, 1862.

Lieutenant Comstock: I received your two telegrams today. Captain Spaulding has arrived and thirty-six pontoons. Forty more are expected in the morning. Our train can be got ready to start on Sunday or Monday morning, November 16 or 17. General Halleck is not inclined to send another train by land, but will allow it, probably, if General Burnside insists. A second train can be sent by water to Aquia Creek, and from thence by teams.

D. P. WOODBURY,
Brigadier-General.

This news gave delight at army headquarters, as the thirty-six pontoons would be sufficient for a bridge or two, and justified an advance to the banks of the Rappahannock, which was so promptly given and successfully executed.

When General Sumner arrived at Falmouth on the 17th, he proposed crossing a portion of his force by a ford, and taking Fredericksburg, but General Burnside decided that it would be impracticable to cross a large body of troops, and without bridges would be unsafe.

General Hooker proposed to go up and cross at the fords above Falmouth, and this was regarded as an independent movement, but taken in connection with the general plan it would be premature. It was desired that the movement should be made in compact columns, and keeping them in easy supporting distance, until a decisive blow could be struck. The sudden advance to the Rappahannock soon disclosed the purpose of General Burnside, and General Lee now rapidly concentrated his army to meet him.

The gravity of the situation was most distressing to General Burnside, and he held frequent consultations with his grand division commanders. The immediate occupation of Fredericksburg was part of the plan of advance. This was now impossible, and a change was necessary, as Lee was intrenched behind Fredericksburg in a strong position. Various schemes were suggested and investigated. One was to cross the river about fourteen miles below, and gunboats were sent there to aid. These attracted Lee and he sent a large force there, the whole of D. H. Hill's Division. These several movements compelled

Lee to scatter his forces along the river, and it now appeared to General Burnside that the enemy was sufficiently separated to make it possible to cross at Fredericksburg, although it would still be necessary to do so "in the face of a vigilant and formidable foe."

It was intended, by crossing at Skinker's Neck, fourteen miles down the river, to have forced Lee to battle outside of his entrenchments. When this intention was abandoned in consequence of the large force found there, it was hoped and believed that the weakest point and most favorable position might be found on the Manaponox and the open plains below the heights of Fredericksburg, where, by a prompt and vigorous assault, the lines of the enemy could be pierced and Lee's forces separated and his strong position turned. This was now the general plan.

The enemies of General Burnside have very generally endeavored to make it appear that there was no plan of battle. Swinton's History states that he did not want to fight a battle, but hoped to pass the Winter comfortably where he was, and in the Spring embark his army for the James River, on the Peninsula. This, and similar statements, were induced upon the wisdom suggested by the subsequent trial and failure, as they were not at any time declared by General Burnside, and were not in harmony with the facts. There was a distinct plan of operations, and by and with the consent of the highest authorities, and upon the line with the demands of the army and the patriotic and long-suffering people, who were demanding action by the defeat of the enemy.

So careful a writer as General Palfrey states that Burnside had formed no plan of battle, and that when he proposed to cross the river under the circumstances, it was well calculated to fill the minds of his lieutenants with grave misgivings. But General Burnside did cross his large army successfully. He penetrated the enemy's lines below the Heights of Fredericksburg on the plains as he intended to do. Possibly the generals referred to by Palfrey—Hooker and Franklin—were too much "occupied with grave misgivings" to carry out their manifest duties in the crisis, for if Hooker's Grand Division and Franklin's on the left, had made the attack simultaneously, as they were directed to do. In this connection it may be well to recall what General Meade did, who led the advance on our left, and to hear what that officer declared, who was probably the best general on the field, and why the battles failed:

"I think if we had been supported by an advance of the

whole line, there is every reason to believe we would have held our ground, and the effect of this would have produced the evacuation of the other line of the enemy's works in the rear of Fredericksburg." (Testimony before the committee on the conduct of the war.)

This success had been achieved by Meade's forces—a part of Franklin's forces, the Pennsylvania Reserves—and it was the point General Burnside hoped to gain, and was to be followed by Franklin's Grand Division, simultaneously with an attack on the right upon the Heights. General Franklin was given 60,000 men for the obvious purpose of penetrating Lee's army there, and then holding the line and thus separating the enemy. It was the key to the rebel stronghold, and even if there had been no distinct plan apparent to Generals Franklin and Hooker, the situation there ought to have appealed to them to give all their forces to support the advance. Then these skillful writers would have easily found most brilliant plans of battle, clear and well defined orders, as well as matchless generalship, when Franklin crushed Lee's right and center, and Hooker scaled the Heights and fell upon the rear of the enemy and demolished the great army of Northern Virginia! Alas, the difference of failure and success!

During the long wait for the pontoons the camp of the 131st was officially designated "Camp near Potomac Creek." It will be remembered that we filed into the thick pine woods, where the regiment was not even able to stack arms, on account of the density of the forest. But it was quickly transformed into a fine camp and a good parade ground. The cold weather was making it necessary to have better protection than that which was afforded by the little "dog tents," and the pine woods afforded excellent material for huts and bedding. Our camp was on an elevation and the winds had full sweep. But the skill and industry of the men soon improvised snug and comfortable quarters, many of them including a fireplace inside. This ingenious contrivance consisted of a hole in the ground, about eighteen inches deep, and a lateral opening to the outside, underneath the wall of the tent, where a chimney made of old barrels, or of cross sticks and mud plaster, secured the necessary draft. Quite a fire could be built inside and be safely maintained, with care, and the tent rendered most comfortable. But many hapless fellows had their "homes" destroyed by fire, as the frequent alarms indicated, when a cabin or a tent, along with their huge chimney, went up in smoke. The company headquarters consisted of a wall tent, with a wedge, or A tent

addition, usually used for a dormitory. In company quarters we had one of these fire places, which through the ingenuity of "Charley," the officer's cook, was improved by means of flattened stovepipe, and other hardware appliances available, so as to radiate the heat and render the tent quite comfortable in the coldest weather of the locality. The wedge tent was attached to the rear and connected with the wall tent by an opening of the seam. The bed covered all of the wedge tent, and consisted of a body of pine twigs, about a foot in thickness, placed upon a "spring bed" of poles, upon which army blankets were spread, covering the entire surface, and this afforded a real cozy and comfortable bed, with only the thin cover of the canvas of the tent between us and the clouds, and the sky, and the stars. The space was ample for three or more, and at this time it was shared with Captain Moyer, not then on duty, and Private Frank Wilson, whose delicate health appealed to our consideration, as he needed greater care than was afforded in the tents of the comrades whose robust health and buoyant spirits could find comfort, or extract it from less sumptuous surroundings. The social delights of those quarters, and congenial companionship of that Winter camp, in these little households of officers and men, will not be forgotten, and they constitute a memorable event in our army life.

There were many incidents up to this part of our history which should be recorded, but I cannot avail myself of the data, nor can I interview the comrades so as to refresh the memory and record them correctly.

Before we moved from Warrenton, Company A was detailed, with two other companies of the brigade as a detachment to guard an ammunition train, which it was important to get to a remote point, over an unprotected country. We were only permitted to take our best men, and no one was to be left fall out of the ranks, as rebel bands were hanging about, and it would be surely death or capture to the hapless one who would do so. The wagons were heavily laden and the march was a severe one. We had not gone many miles when Private William Bordner came to me and declared he must fall out, as he was entirely exhausted. Here was a dilemma. I was instructed to allow no one to ride upon the wagons. He must take his chances. I was powerless to aid him, except by the friendly advice which I gave him. The foot which the examining surgeon at Harrisburg, upon the occasion of his muster, had feared would disable him, now had given out, and he could march no longer. After a renewed effort to keep up he finally fell

cut, and he soon became a prisoner in the hands of the rebels. It was a long while before we learned his fate. He was captured soon after falling out and the detachment had gone out of sight. After suffering the discomforts of captivity for some days he was paroled and was sent to a camp of paroled and exchanged prisoners, near Alexandria, Va. The injured foot proved to be a disability which unfitted him for the service, and he was honorably discharged, a notice of which we received in the following Spring, and will be seen by the following:

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BATTALION,
CAMP NEAR ANNAPOLIS, MD., April 10, 1863.

COLONEL 131ST PENNSYLVANIA VOLUNTEERS:

Sir: I have the honor to inform you that Private William Bordner, of Company A, 131st Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, was dismissed from the service of the United States at Camp Banks, near Alexandria, Va., on the 27th day of March, 1863, on surgeon's certificate of disability.

By order of Brigadier-General Martindale, commander of the defences of Washington.

Very respectfully,

O. L. COLVIN,

Captain Ninety-third New York Volunteers, late Commander of Camp Banks, Va.

This notice was accompanied by an abstract of the clothing account, etc., from November 15, 1862, from Joseph Williams, late commandant at camp of paroled and exchanged prisoners near Alexandria for clothing, etc., lost by casualties of war. The loss of Private Bordner was sincerely regretted by the company, as he was a good soldier and a genial and popular comrade. He was the only member of Company A who fell into the hands of the enemy.

One of the unpleasant events which so sadly marred social life in the regiment, occurred here a short time previous to the battle of Fredericksburg. Nearly all the lieutenants of the regiment were cited before a board of examiners. Under a clause in the Army Regulations provision is made for the dismissal of incompetent, or otherwise objectionable officers, and it is a wholesome and necessary provision. This may be done through a board of examiners. It was susceptible of great injustice in the hands of incompetent officers, who resorted to this means sometimes out of other motives than for the good of the service. Lieut. William H. Wolf, of Company E, was among

those who had been cited for examination, who resented the matter as an insult, and regarded it as a vindictive measure, aimed at one or two, by the lieutenant-colonel, who was temporarily in command of the regiment. At a casual meeting of Lieutenant-Colonel Shaut and Lieutenant Wolf, upon the camp grounds, the former made some irritating remark, when Lieutenant Wolf, with his open hand, struck the lieutenant-colonel squarely in the face, as his reply, accompanied with remarks extravagantly expressive of his contempt, and reminding him at the same time that he and the others whom he discredited, had offered themselves to fight, and in that line, or any other proper soldierly duty, they yielded nothing to the accidental commander of the regiment. Of course Lieutenant Wolf's act could not be defended, and the lieutenant-colonel immediately preferred charges against Lieutenant Wolf, who was tried by court martial. On account of some error the findings of the court were subjected to revision, and in the meantime the battle of Fredericksburg took place and Lieutenant Wolf distinguished himself in the battle. His captain, Davis, being wounded, and the first lieutenant, Bruner, killed, he led his company, and did it well. In revising the record, although the court found him guilty of the charges preferred, extenuating circumstances were found and he was reinstated, and subsequently promoted. Unfortunately the lieutenant-colonel, in the same battle, was early disabled by "concussion" and he left the field, when Major Patton took command. The lieutenant-colonel, after this episode, followed up his action against the lieutenants by an order placing ten of them under arrest upon charges of conduct unbecoming officers, on account of alleged criticisms made of the lieutenant-colonel. This aroused the accused officers, who went in a body to the quarters of the lieutenant-colonel, where the plain talk which followed resulted in a better understanding, and the officers' swords were returned, and the order for the arrest was withdrawn and no further charges were preferred.

The board of examiners, when they convened for the examination of the accused officers cited before them, were justly suspicious that all was not right in the 131st, from the unusual number of officers reported from a single regiment, and they sought for an explanation of the matter. Only two of the officers were examined, then waiving the further examination they requested an explanation, and for this purpose extended the liberty of replying freely to questions concerning the relations existing between the lieutenant-colonel and the lieutenants. From all the statements it was concluded that the good of the

service did not require that these officers should be dismissed the service, and without a further formal examination in the tactics they made a report in accordance with these facts, and all were directed to report to their regiment for duty. The unfortunate incident left resentments which were never healed. Several of the lieutenants refused to obey the order for an appearance before the board, one of whom was killed in battle whilst bravely leading his company in the charge upon the stonewall at Fredericksburg, and all of them rendered distinguished service. The board reported the entire matter and inquired the reasons for the failure to report by these officers, but the whole unfortunate case was, in view of all the circumstances, soon after the battle of Fredericksburg, entirely abandoned.

During all our long stay in these camps we were blissfully ignorant of the causes which were delaying the forward movement under new and spirited commanders. The expectation that we would engage the enemy was general, and there were constant evidences of an intended forward movement. We received orders now to report our men who were absent from the regiment on detached service. This detailed report of the 4th of December, will be an interesting record and was as follows:

CAMP NEAR POTOMAC CREEK,

COL. P. H. ALLABACH,

Dec. 4, 1862.

Commanding Brigade:

I have the honor to herewith transmit a list of men on detached service, or permanently detailed from the regiment.

Company A.—Sergt. Isaac Treat, clerk at division headquarters (General Humphrey,) detailed October 8; Corp. Harrison Haffer, guard at General Butterfield's headquarters, detailed September 26; Private Isaac Brocius, do; Jeremiah Sommer, do; Archibald Maxwell, guard at General Humphrey's headquarters, detailed October 2; Christian Kerr, do; John Winegardner, nurse at brigade hospital, detailed October 29; William Taylor, brigade teamster, detailed November 10; William Criswell, ambulance corps, detailed September 28; Charles Weiss, nurse in regimental hospital, detailed September 26.

Company B.—Private John Meadowcraft, ambulance corps, detailed September 28; George T. Piper, herdsman.

Company C.—William H. Beck, at brigade headquarters; Wesley Ely, ambulance corps, detailed September 28; William

Evert, brigade hospital steward, detailed September 29; James W. Lyon, at corps headquarters; Alonzo Osman, signal corps, Second Brigade, detailed November 3.

Company D.—G. H. Pratt, in Battery G, Fourth United States Artillery, Second Brigade, detailed October 13; J. A. Long, do.; G. D. Mitchell, Battery C, First New York Artillery, Second Brigade, detailed October 13; A. P. Mitchell, W. R. Anderson, H. T. Mitchell, E. C. Kyle, W. J. Barger, G. W. Wilson, do.; Sergt. Roland Thompson, at General Humphrey's headquarters, detailed September 23; Sergt. Homer Benedict, at General Butterfield's headquarters, detailed September 25; Private W. Walters, J. P. Landis, J. M. Stine, do.; W. A. Mitchell, nurse in regimental hospital, detailed September 25; W. R. Bell, at division headquarters, detailed November 24; Hiram Smith, brigade blacksmith; H. C. Hoffman, regimental hospital druggist, detailed October 29.

Company E.—James Murphy, division teamster; Samuel Irwin, guard at brigade headquarters; A. F. Irwin, brigade wagon guard; James M. Ritter, herdsman.

Company F.—Jeremiah Long, reserve artillery; Henry Mull, do; James Renninger, ambulance corps, Second Brigade; G. D. Shive, General Humphrey's headquarters, detailed September 23; J. R. Smith, do.; W. Houseworth, hospital nurse at Second Brigade hospital; M. B. Gardner, hospital cook.

Company G.—Sergt. P. Hoffman, provost guard, detailed September 23; Private Pharion Shaffer, do.; Alfred Campbell, artillery reserve; H. B. Sweet, do.; Jefferson Hewet and David D. Griffith, signal corps.

Company H.—William Groover, reserve artillery; Silas McCarty, do.; Merrick Reeder, ambulance corps.

Company I.—Sergt. John H. Love, clerk at division headquarters (General Humphrey); Private C. S. Morton, hospital nurse; R. McMurry, wagon guard; John Buck, guard at brigade headquarters; William Yost, do.; A. Good, provost guard at division headquarters; J. M. Beugler, nurse at brigade hospital; Peter Calhoof, Josiah Pierson, do.; H. C. George, Baltimore railroad; Irea Sigle, ammunition teamster; William Stover, ambulance corps.

Company K.—James Ewing, provost guard at General Humphrey's headquarters; Charles Miller, with ammunition train; Sergeant Lockart, ambulance corps, Second Brigade;

Private Vanzant, do; Private Yarlet, reserve artillery corps; Private Stamm, Battery C, First New York Artillery; Privates Forsythe, Woomer, Brower and Richards, do.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

LT.-COL. WILLIAM B. SHAUT,
Commanding 131st Regiment, P. V.

S. H. POLLOCK, Adjutant.

Clerks and guards, and as many others on detached service as possible, were usually returned to their companies before a battle. Soon after, all who were sick, or unable to march, were ordered to the rear, or to hospitals. Our consolidated morning report of December 10th indicated the strength of the regiment to be as follows:

Company A.—Present for duty: Commissioned officers, 2; enlisted men, 47; on extra duty, 6; sick, 13; aggregate, 68; absent on detached service—officers, 1; enlisted men, 10; absent, with leave, 15; present and absent, 94.

Company B.—Present for duty: Commissioned officers, 3; enlisted men, 63; on extra duty, 3; sick, 11; aggregate, 80; absent, on detached service, 6; absent with leave, 12; present and absent, 98.

Company C.—Present for duty: Officers, 3; enlisted men, 58; on extra duty, enlisted men, 3; sick, 11; aggregate, 72; absent on detached service, 6; with leave, 17; without leave, 1; present and absent, 96.

Company D.—Present for duty: Officers, 3; enlisted men, 39; on extra duty, 6; sick, 13; aggregate, 61; absent on detached service, 17; with leave, 17; present and absent, 95.

Company E.—Present for duty: Officers, 3; enlisted men, 59; on extra duty, 7; sick, 8; aggregate, 77; absent on detached service, 2; with leave, 13; present and absent, 92.

Company F.—Present for duty: Officers, 2; enlisted men, 50; on extra duty, 5; sick, 10; aggregate, 67; absent on detached service, 6; absent with leave, 20; present and absent, 93.

Company G.—Present for duty: Officers, 2; enlisted men, 66; on extra duty, 1; sick, 13; aggregate, 81; absent on detailed service, 6; with leave, 7; present and absent, 94.

Company H.—Present for duty: Officers, 2; enlisted men, 54; on extra duty, 1; sick, officers, 1; enlisted men, 14; aggregate, 72; absent on detached service, 4; with leave, 14; present and absent, 90.

Company I.—Present for duty: Officers, 2; enlisted men, 46; on extra duty, 9; sick, officers, 1; enlisted men, 11; aggregate, 69; absent on detached service, 6; with leave, 21; present and absent, 96.

Company K.—Present for duty: Officers, 2; enlisted men, 53; on extra duty, 7; sick, officers, 1; enlisted men, 10; aggregate, 73; absent on detached service, 9; with leave, 13; present and absent, 95.

Total present for duty with regiment: Commissioned officers, regimental, 9; company, 29; enlisted men, 558; present and absent, 960.

Lieutenant Reeder, of Company C, on account of continued illness, resigned and returned to his home in Northumberland county, Pa.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG.

THE pontoons having arrived every preparation was immediately made for an advance. The proximity of the contending armies made it clear that a movement meant a battle, and the orders, having been daily looked for, were not a surprise when, on December 10th we received notice to prepare for the march.

The despatches of General Burnside to General Halleck, at Washington, from December 9th to the opening of the battle of Fredericksburg, set forth his plans as far as they were made public, whilst they also disclose the fact of frequent conferences with the grand division commanders, and their approval of his movement :

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
Dec. 9, 1863, 4:05 a. m.

In accordance with your directions I send you copies of orders issued, which I hope will be satisfactory. I will send a more definite dispatch after my interview with commanders of grand divisions to-day. Our movements have been very much embarrassed by the cold weather, but we still hope for success. The gunboats will not be able to assist us, in consequence of the ice in the river; in fact, it is feared they may now be frozen in at a point some thirty miles below here. The harbor at Belle Plain was frozen over this morning. The men suffer from cold, but the sick list is not very largely increasing. I hope to make the attempt to cross on Thursday morning at daybreak, with chances of success in our favor.

A. E. BURNSIDE,
Major-General commanding Army of Potomac.
MAJ.-GEN. H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief, Washington.

The orders directing the Twelfth Corps, General Slocum, to leave Harper's Ferry, and, with the Eleventh Corps, General Sigel, to join the Army of the Potomac, were also sent to Washington, as well as to the several commanders, but are omitted here.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
Dec. 9, 5 a. m.

The three commanders of grand divisions will report at these headquarters at 12 o'clock to-day. In the meantime they

will give the necessary orders to enable them to place their commands in position at daybreak on the morning of the 11th, at such points as may be indicated by verbal instructions from the general commanding, not to exceed eight miles from their present positions. The officers and men should be provided with three days' cooked rations. Forty rounds of ammunition must be carried in cartridge boxes, and twenty rounds in pockets. The ammunition wagons and batteries will be supplied with at least three days' forage. Definite verbal instructions will be given as to the disposition of other trains of the command. The chief of artillery will detail such batteries as may be necessary to protect the crossing of the river, and, if the crossing is successful, the batteries will join their proper columns, if necessary. Definite verbal instructions will be given as to the disposition of the cavalry of the different grand divisions.

By command of

GEN. A. E. BURNSIDE,

JOHN G. PARKE, Chief of Staff.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

Dec. 9, 1862, 11:30 p. m.

General: All the orders have been issued to the several commanders of grand divisions and heads of departments for our attempt to cross the river on Thursday morning. The plans of the movements are somewhat modified by the movements of the enemy, who have been concentrating in large force opposite the point at which we originally intended to cross. I think now that the enemy will be more surprised by crossing immediately in our front than in any other part of the river. The commanders of grand divisions coincide with me in this opinion and have accordingly ordered the movement, which will enable us to keep the force well concentrated, at the same time covering our communications in the rear. I am convinced that a large force of the enemy is now concentrated in the vicinity of Port Royal, its left resting near Fredericksburg, which we hope to turn. We have an abundance of artillery, and have made very elaborate preparations to protect the crossing. The importance of the movement and the details of the plan seem to be well understood by the grand division commanders, and we hope to succeed.

If the general-in-chief desire it, I will send a minute statement by telegraph in cipher to-morrow morning. The

movement is so important that I feel anxious to be fortified by his approval.

A. E. BURNSIDE,

Major-General commanding.

To GENERAL HALLECK, Washington, D. C.

To this last clause of the dispatch General Halleck replied :

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 10, 1862.

Major-General Burnside, Falmouth, Va.: I beg of you not to telegraph details of your plans, nor the times of your intended movements. No secret can be kept which passes through so many hands.

H. W. HALLECK,

General-in-Chief.

It was a sad commentary on the condition of army affairs in and about Washington, which General Halleck's last dispatch disclosed. There were so many rebels and their sympathizers, that it was literally true that no secrets, passing through official hands, could long be kept. But General Burnside was disclosing to officials and to the rebels, and to the people, the plan of operations which would ultimately win, and he immediately adopted plans to use the army and hammer away upon the rebels in arms, and to keep on doing so until our superior strength should force a final surrender. Burnside's command from November 9th to January 26th, was the first chapter, and Meade and Grant took up the work, after Hooker's lamentable failure, upon the same plan, and finished it. There was no more open interference by a general-in-chief at Washington, and no insubordination by army officers. But the Army of the Potomac, so often defeated by the defections of its officers, led by worthy leaders, fell upon Lee's rebel hordes, in season and out of season, through the sacrifice of priceless lives and unstinted treasures, from the Rappahannock to Appomattox.

The 10th of December was a busy day in the Army of the Potomac. The camps extended all the way from Aquia Creek to the upper fords of the Rappahannock.

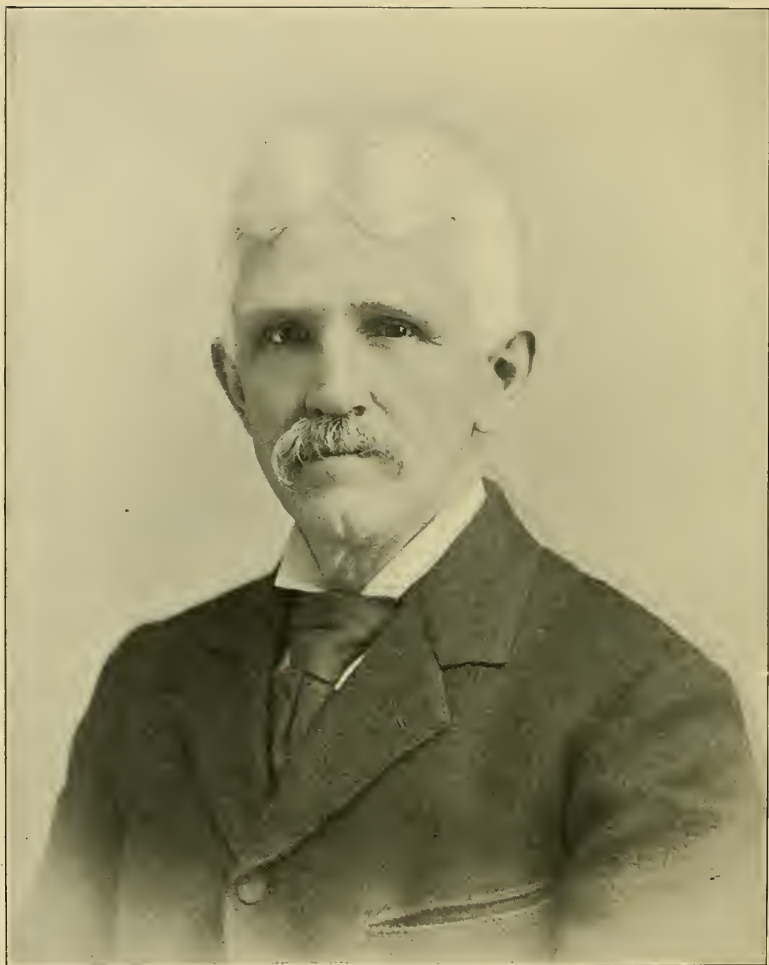
The country is broken by many hills and the campfires at night could be seen for many miles. The distance from the camps to the river was not great, and the fires of the enemy could also be seen from many points. It was apparent from the orders, that we were to be thrown upon Lee's forces at Fredericksburg.

The cooking of rations and the distribution of extra quantities of ammunition—cartridge boxes and pockets full—left no doubt as to what this movement meant, and our preparations and the prospects ahead were variously discussed, as was always the case, upon those interesting occasions just before a battle.

Our camp was several miles from the river, and the 131st Regiment busied itself all that day in securing the extra ammunition and rations, and the necessary preparations for what we all believed to be a final march upon Richmond. The boys retired early, as a rule, on that crisp December night, and, although soldiers were not supposed to be given much to sentiment, an observer would have detected, without effort, that the minds of the men were occupied with other thoughts than of ammunition and rations. Letters home, including every conceivable variety, from the tender missive to a sweetheart to that of the last will and testament of the misgiving soldier who quietly indulged in a presentiment that this would be his last battle. And it was remarkable how frequent were the occasions where company officers were made the confidants of the men who handled the guns in battle in such instances. I never knew of but one, however, where the premonition became real. It was that of Adjutant Noon, of the 133d Regiment.

On the morning of the 11th, just as the 131st was having roll call, a sharp report of a cannon was heard, and all instinctively accepted it as the signal gun for the advance. This was not the fact, however, for, as we subsequently learned, it was Lee's signal gun, announcing to his army that Burnside was crossing the Rappahannock. The morning light revealed great columns of blue, with the noisy batteries, and army wagons, from every direction, heading towards the river. Orders to fall in were not long withheld from the 131st, and the cosy quarters of the men were literally thrown off, and in many instances set on fire, together with all the paraphernalia of household accumulations which had been gathered. They were now in fighting trim, and they realized that the hour of their supreme need to the government which they were defending, had arrived, and they intended to do their whole duty.

Our progress to the river was slow and irksome. The troops were being concentrated, *en masse*, in front of Fredericksburg. The morning was cool and misty, and we could not see the city nor beyond, but we reached our position without incident, near the river where the Center Grand Division, under



ALBERT D. LUNDY.
FIRST LIEUTENANT COMPANY I.

Hooker, was massed, with Sumner's Grand Division on our right and Franklin's on the left.

General Hunt, chief of artillery, had been ordered to make the necessary disposition of the artillery to protect the construction of the pontoon bridges and to cover the passage of the army. The hills of the north bank of the river fully commanded the city and the plains and the lower hills on the south side. The river is navigable from Fredericksburg to Chesapeake, but is narrow. One hundred and forty-seven guns were placed in position. These, together with the batteries with the troops, rendered the army secure from any possible advance by Lee.

The officer in charge of the pontoons, Lieutenant Comstock, chief engineer, was ordered to throw two bridges over the river at the upper end of Fredericksburg, one at the lower end and two a mile below, making the distance between the extreme bridges nearly two miles. The heads of the bridge trains were to arrive at the bank of the river at 3 o'clock a. m., and the bridges were then to be finished as speedily as possible. All these bridges were commenced soon after 3 o'clock, each supported by infantry, as well as by the guns mounted all along the northern banks.

It is claimed for the signal corps of the Army of the Potomac, that it was the first to introduce on this continent, as a medium of communication upon the field of battle, the magnetic telegraph. As the army was concentrating upon the bridges the signal corps was busy moving their wires to all important centers. We remember them passing through our lines, rapidly unrolling their wire, and placing it upon light poles. The Phillips house, General Burnside's headquarters, was connected with the Lacy house, the large brick mansion on the river bank, near which was located the upper bridge. This was the bridge over which General Humphrey's Division passed. The Lacy house was occupied by General Sumner, as headquarters. The wires were also extended down the river to the lower bridge, where Franklin crossed, and with his headquarters. Thus lines were operated during the battle from general headquarters to all important points upon the battlefield, and to the rear as far as Belle Plain. Flag signal stations were also maintained, and during the battle several were opened in the steeples of the court house and churches in the city. These became the targets for the enemy, and they were driven from several places by the shell of the rebel guns.

Professor Lowe was taking observations from his great balloon, which was frequently sent up, securely controlled by ropes. Several efforts were made by the rebel cannoneers on the other side to get the range of the balloonist, but they failed.

Thus, seemingly, every detail which a general commanding could provide for the advance of so great an army, had been made, and they ought to be sufficient answer to the flip-pant critics who have asserted that there was no plan of battle.

The south side of the river was held by Lee's army, extending mainly from opposite Falmouth to the Massaponax, a small stream emptying into the Rappahannock below, a distance of about five miles. The low ground on which Fredericksburg stands, narrows to a point on the river about a mile above and widens to several miles below. There are irregular hills in the rear of the plain, making an angle below the city, where the plain widens in a line with the small streams flowing into the Rappahannock. There was ample room for a flank movement, either upon the plank road leading south through the city, or the Bowling Green road, skirting the hills eastwardly from the city and turning southward below the city. Lee's position on the hills was lower than the north bank of the river and too remote to prevent a successful crossing. Burnside's guns commanded the city and the plains beyond, and this made it impossible for Lee's army to assume the offensive, after he repulsed the attack of the Army of the Potomac.

It seems almost incredible that it was a third of a century ago when the men of the 131st marched down to the river the morning of December 11th, 1862. We did not then know what I have detailed of the position of our army. We saw the great lines concentrating and heard the tumult of battle, and anxiously looked forward to our part in the contest. When we were near the Phillips house we saw a line of staff officers and orderlies coming and going as fast as their steeds could bear them, bringing reports and bearing the orders of the commander to the front. But there is nowhere in the science of warfare any provision for informing the rank and file of what is going on, or what they were to do. The opposite theory prevails. The nearer a private soldier approximates a machine the better. That is, he must simply obey orders. It is doubtless founded in wisdom, but at the same time the American volunteer armies were not the basis upon which the theory was constructed. Much may be done, in the way of discipline, with men who are soldiers by profession, that may not, and ought not, be attempted upon

such a body of men as comprised the great volunteer armies who fought and won the battles for the American Union.

We, that is, our division, did not cross the river until Saturday afternoon. Those three days—Thursday, Friday and Saturday—were days of great anxiety. The weather was cold; we could have no fires; we were subsisting from our haversacks; we were required to keep close to our files and sleep upon our arms; but what was going on in front we could not know. The roar of battle had been heard, and the steeples of the near-by fated city could now and then be seen, and the many-tongued rumors gave zest to the situation when other events failed. A few men here and there were taken ill and compelled to go to the rear. Private George W. Lashells was very sick, but he refused to fall out. I had provided myself with blank orders to leave the ranks on account of sickness. I offered one of these to him, having filled the blank with his name, company and regiment. This was to save any worthy soldier from the risks to which he was exposed by contact with the rear guard, who had great difficulty in discriminating on account of such as made it a convenient thing to become suddenly ill just on the eve of a battle. George had been ill a few days previous and I had advised him not to march, but he could not be persuaded to remain behind. He soon recovered and felt able to go on. There was no apparent excitement anywhere noticeable, but the men kept close to the ranks and displayed a discipline founded upon a personal interest in citizenship, which distinguished these American armies, and made them far superior to any large armies ever before known.

We subsequently learned what delayed the army so long. The engineers were delayed in putting down the bridges. It was confidently expected that these would cause no delay. A pontoon bridge, 400 feet in length, can be constructed in an hour, or less. But the great mass of material necessary could not be placed exactly where needed, and caused some delay, and the rebels were numerously secreted on the other side and stubbornly resisted every attempt of the working men, who failed to get the bridges down before daylight on Thursday morning, as General Burnside expected they would. It was upon these men being discovered that the rebel signal gun was fired, which we heard that morning. It was the upper bridges which caused the delay. After daylight the rebels kept up a constant fire and drove the pontoons away. Volunteers were called upon to assist, but men could not be held to the work, and were fired upon without the means of defense. The delay was seriously

affecting the plan of attack, and General Hunt, the chief of artillery, was directed to shell the city, and drive the rebels out. This was the noise of battle which we heard. All the guns along the north bank hurled shot and shell into the city. It fairly shook the earth but it did not entirely clear the city of the enemy. Close to the banks, in houses and behind temporary defences, sharpshooters stood to their work, and as the attempt was made to renew bridge building they renewed their work of death. The great guns drove the enemy mainly and set the city on fire and shattered, more or less, nearly every house, but they failed to reach the low places which concealed the sharpshooters. General Hunt then suggested calling for soldiers and placing them in the pontoon boats to row over and drive out or capture them. Hall's Brigade was on the river banks and 120 men from the Seventh Michigan, together with the Nineteenth Massachusetts, were sent to this work, which was successful. The rebels were in cellars and several earthworks not previously seen, but they were killed, captured or driven away. The Twentieth Massachusetts also followed in boats and assisted in the completion of the bridge. It was nearly night, but the advance of Sumner's Grand Division, under General Howard, had gained a firm hold in the city after some severe fighting in the streets of the town.

The bridges below were completed without serious obstruction, except as delayed by the ice and bad roads, and Franklin's Left Grand Division began crossing at 11 o'clock in the morning. There was no shelter for the rebels and our guns completely commanded the low grounds and the plain beyond.

General Lee, in his report, says the citizens of Fredericksburg, very patriotically abandoned their homes and encamped in the rear of his army; but Burnside's guns more likely admonished them, and they, nor General Lee's army could prevent our forces from occupying their city. The dense fog of these winter mornings, and the cold nights and cheerless tents were not voluntarily chosen in exchange for comfortable homes by the people of Fredericksburg, but it was a handsome compliment.

Whilst this critical preparatory work for crossing was going on the army was slowly and steadily closing upon the river banks, and those who occupied the hill-tops occasionally had a clear view of the south side—the city and the rebel camps beyond. The mist of those cool December mornings, however, obscured everything until late in the day. The expectation that the artillery would enable the bridge builders to carry on their

work was not realized, owing, mainly, to the fact that the mist entirely hid from view the rebel infantry secreted on the opposite banks. It was nothing to Lee that they would bring down destruction upon their city, so long as by their acts they could delay the crossing long enough to enable Hill's troops to return from the lower Rappahannack, and to concentrate all his army for the defense. This delay, from Thursday morning until Saturday morning, rendered the assault more hazardous, yet it was not the principal cause of the failure. The want of faithful co-operation with the commander-in-chief by the grand division commanders of the infantry, was manifesting itself. It was General Hunt, the chief of artillery, who finally called upon the infantry and succeeded in effecting the crossing at the upper bridges, where the right and centre grand divisions were to cross. After the general orders which General Burnside issued, copies of which had been sent to Washington, and the great army was massed on the river bank, it would seem plain, even to one not skilled in military science, what was the duty of Generals Franklin, Hooker and Sumner, who directly commanded the men. The delays which were seemingly unavoidable, now made it clear to General Burnside that the only hope of success was to break Lee's lines and divide his army. If he could succeed, he would press upon and crush them in detail. To this end all his orders now centered. He gave Franklin 60,000 men. He expected him to crush Jackson's line, and Sumner, with the right grand division, would then be enabled to advance, as Lee would be obliged to place his troops for the defense of his broken lines on his right. Sumner had his own grand division and a part of Hooker's, also, nearly 60,000 men. In the light of these facts, how inexcusable seem the criticisms of General Burnside's plan and the unwarranted charge that he had no plan.

On the other side of the river General Lee's army was stationed in the following order: General Longstreet commanded the left wing, his divisions resting on the river above Falmouth, where Anderson commanded, and upon his right were McLaws, Pickett and Hood, in the order named. Ransom's Division supported the batteries on Marye's Heights and the hills southward, at the foot of which Cobb's Brigade and a part of Ransom's were in the sunken roads protected by stone walls. The celebrated Washington artillery, of New Orleans, under Colonel Walton, occupied the redoubts on the crest of Marye's Hill, and then on his right and left were held by part of the reserve artillery, Colonel Alexander's battalion, and the division batteries.

"Stonewall" Jackson commanded the right wing. Gen. A. P. Hill was posted between Hood and Hamilton's crossing on the railroad. His front line, consisting of the brigades of Ponder, Lane and Archer, occupied the edge of the wood. Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, with fourteen pieces of artillery, was posted near the right, supported by Field's Brigade, with Hill's reserves in the rear. Early's and Taliaferro's Divisions composed Jackson's second line, with D. H. Hill's Division in reserve. General Stuart, with two brigades of cavalry, and Pelham's, occupied the plain on Jackson's right extending to the Massaponox.

General Burnside now issued final orders to each of the three grand division commanders :

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

Dec. 11, 1862, 4.20 a. m.

MAJ.-GEN. E. V. SUMNER :

In addition to the verbal orders already given you, I will add the following :

Your First Corps, after crossing, should be protected by the town and the banks of the river as much as possible until the Second Corps is well closed up and in the act of crossing ; after which you will move the First Corps directly to the front, with a view to taking the heights that command the plank road and the telegraph road, supporting it by your other corps as soon as you can get it over the river. General Hooker will immediately follow in your support, and will see that your right flank is not troubled.

General Franklin crosses below, as you are aware, thus protecting your left. The extent of your movement to the front will be indicated during the engagement. Please inform me if you propose to arrange your headquarters before the head of the column reaches the river, that I may send you guides for the roads. I send one with this. If you desire further instructions please send word by the orderly.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. E. BURNSIDE,

Major-General Commanding.

MAJ.-GEN. JOSEPH HOOKER :

4:45 a. m.

General Sumner is ordered, after crossing the river, to move immediately to the front, with a view to taking the height commanding the plank roads. After crossing, you will hold yourself in readiness to support either his column or General

Franklin's, which crosses below Deep Run, and will move down the old Richmond road in the direction of the railroad. Should we be so fortunate as to dislodge the enemy, you will hold your command in readiness to pursue by the two roads.

My headquarters will be at the Phillips house, where, if you will send an aid at 8 o'clock, guides will be furnished you to lead your column. I will be glad to see you at headquarters before the head of your column reaches the river.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

A. E. BURNSIDE,
Major-General Commanding.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
Dec. 11, 1862, 5:15 a. m.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRANKLIN :

General Sumner will, after crossing the river, move immediately to the front, with a view to taking the heights which command the plank and telegraph roads. I have ordered General Hooker to hold himself in readiness, as soon as he has crossed the river, to support either General Sumner's column or your own. After your command has crossed, you will move down the old Richmond road, in the direction of the railroad, being governed by circumstances as to the extent of your movements. An aide will be sent to you during your movements.

My headquarters will be at the Phillips house.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

A. E. BURNSIDE,
Major-General of Volunteers.

The topography of the south side of the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg is such as to make it possible for an army to approach the city from the north and occupy it, as the hills of the north bank of the river completely command the city and the lower hills in the rear. This made it quite possible for General Burnside to concentrate his army there and cross the river more readily than above or below, unless these other points could be reached unopposed. It was on this account the plan of crossing below at Skinker's Neck was changed, as Hill's troops, of Jackson's Corps, supported by artillery and cavalry, were there. Subsequent events proved that it was quite as favorable a point of attack as the upper fords, as Lee's army was, in all cases, the power to be met and overcome.

The 11th was a day of increasing interest to the boys of

the regiment, who were blissfully ignorant of what was transpiring in the front, and of that battle between our generals, but none doubted the character of the work which we would be called upon to do. The mist of the morning was dense, but the smoke of the 150 cannon and the burning of the houses in the city had completely enveloped the armies and the city until the afternoon, when the bridges were completed, and Franklin's on our left and Sumner's troops in our front began to cross. At the lower bridge only one man was wounded and two taken prisoners, but at the upper bridges, one officer, Captain Perkins, and six privates were killed, and two officers and forty-one privates were wounded. After Hall's Brigade had opened the way the Forty-second and Fifty-ninth New York and 127th Pennsylvania were the first to cross the upper bridge, and they gallantly cleared the streets and secured a firm hold of the city. The movements were retarded much on account of the inability of the signal corps to direct, but we knew that our troops now occupied the city and we continued our waiting and slept upon our arms.

The 12th—Friday—we kept closing up as the troops in advance crossed the bridges and that night bivouacked near the Lacey house on the river banks, all the troops of the right and left wings having crossed over and secured advanced lines on the outer edges of the city, and close upon the rebel lines on the plain below.

At the upper bridges 104 cannon accompanied the infantry and eighty-six at the lower bridges.

Cavalry above and below the city made reconnaissances and fully developed the lines held by the enemy.

General Burnside now turned to his lieutenants and, with his magnificent army, and the three "fighting generals," Sumner, Hooker and Franklin, he had a right to hope to break the rebel right, to quickly seize any advantage gained and press on to the rebel Capital. His orders were in harmony with his movements, and both said so clearly that to-morrow we will fall upon the enemy with our left wing and pierce his lines, to be closely supported by a portion of the center, and aided by a simultaneous attack upon the right by Sumner, supported by the remaining troops of the center. Burnside had the men and superior equipment to fully offset the advantage of position held by Lee; and every loyal heart in the great North, as well as every soldier in the ranks of that army, were confidently looking for a crowning victory.

The evening of the 12th found our army holding a line

thus: The Second Corps held the center and right of the town; the Ninth Corps was on the left of the Second Corps and connecting with General Franklin's right, at Deep Run; the Sixth Corps was on the left of the Ninth, nearly parallel with the old Richmond road, and the First Corps on the left of the Sixth, its left resting on the river. General Hooker's Grand Division—Third and Fifth Corps, except Birney's—and Sickles' Division of the Third sent to Franklin, on the left, were on the river bank, ready to support either Franklin or Sumner.

General Palfrey, in his "Antietam and Fredericksburg," goes far out of his way to represent General Burnside as "riding about, not quite at his wit's end, but very near it. As far as can be made out, he finally came to the conclusion that he would attempt to do something, he did not quite know what, with his left, and if he succeeded, to do something with his right." He was writing from the cue given by the enemies of Burnside, tainted with that spirit of insubordination which had up to this time defeated almost every effort, but which was finally rendered impossible when Meade and Grant together led the Army of the Potomac to victory.

Burnside's former orders, when he first took command, were clear, and his movements astonishingly prompt. The grand division commanders seem to have understood his orders to cross the river and attack the enemy, and take position for battle, although they were extremely slow in the execution of them. The orders for the final attack do not seem to be out of the ordinary, and when, on the night of that eventful December day, Burnside was cruelly stigmatized as "at his wit's end" he states very clearly what he was doing and gives intelligible reasons for the orders which followed. He says:

"By the night of the 12th the troops were all in position, and I visited the different commands with a view to determining as to future movements. The delay in laying the bridges had rendered some change in the plan of attack necessary, and the orders previously issued were to be superseded by new ones. It was after midnight when I returned and before daylight I prepared and issued the following orders:"

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

Dec. 13, 1862, 6 a. m.

MAJ.-GEN. E. V. SUMNER,

Commanding Right Grand Division:

The general commanding directs that you extend the left of your command to Deep Run, connecting with General

Franklin, extending your right as far as your judgment may dictate. He also directs that you push a column of a division or more, along the plank and telegraph roads, with a view to seizing the heights in the rear of the town. The latter movement should be well covered by skirmishers, and supported so as to keep its line of retreat open. Copy of instructions given to General Franklin will be sent to you very soon. You will please wait them at your present headquarters where he (the general commanding) will meet you. Great care must be taken to prevent collision of your own forces during the fog. The watchword for the day will be "Scott." The column for a movement up the telegraph and plank roads will be got in readiness to move, but will not move till the general commanding communicates with you.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN G. PARKE,
Chief of Staff.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.
Dec. 13, 1862, 7 a. m.

MAJ.-GEN. JOSEPH HOOKER,

Commander Center Grand Division :

The general commanding directs that you place General Butterfield's (Fifth) Corps and Whipple's Division in position to cross at a moment's notice, at the three upper bridges, to support the other troops over the river, and the two remaining divisions of Stoneman's Corps in readiness to cross at the lower crossing, in support of General Franklin. The general commanding will meet you at headquarters (Phillips house) very soon. Copies of instructions to General Sumner and General Franklin will be sent to you.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN G. PARKE,
Chief of Staff.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.
Dec. 13, 5:55 a. m.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRANKLIN,

Commander Left Grand Division :

General Hardie will carry this dispatch to you, and remain with you during the day. The general commanding directs that you keep your whole command in position for a rapid movement down the old Richmond road, and you will send out at once a division at least, to pass below Smithfield and seize,

if possible, the heights near Hamiltons, on this side of the Manaponox, taking care to keep it well supported, and its lines of retreat open. He has ordered another column, of a division or more, to be moved from General Sumner's command up the plank road to its intersection with the telegraph road, where they will divide, with a view of seizing the heights on both sides of those roads. Holding these heights, with the heights near Hamiltons will, he hopes, compel the enemy to evacuate the entire ridge between those points. I make these moves by columns distant from each other with a view of avoiding the possibility of a collision of our own forces, which might occur in a general movement during the fog. Two of General Hooker's divisions are in your rear, at the bridge, and will remain there as supports. Copies of instructions given to Generals Sumner and Hooker will be forwarded to you by an orderly very soon. You will keep your whole command ready to move at once, as soon as the fog lifts. The watchword, which, if possible, should be given to every company, will be "Scott."

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN G. PARKE,
Chief of Staff.

These orders directed General Franklin to move at once and seize, if possible, the key to the enemy's position, near Hamiltons, and to keep this column well supported, and his whole command in readiness to move. The object of this order could not be stated more clearly. It was to seize these heights and to do it at once. General Sumner was ordered to be ready, but not to move, until further orders. This was manifestly not to be done until General Franklin succeeded, then the whole army was intended to co-operate to defeat Lee. The fact that General Meade, of Franklin's Grand Division, who opened the battle, and succeeded in securing the point desired by Burnside, is proof of the practicability of the order of battle, and more, that it was the fault of his lieutenants who failed to properly support the advance made, whereby all was lost. The entire Army of the Potomac was so disposed as to make a rapid movement upon Richmond, but in the event of failure, under the protection of our superior guns, on the commanding position on the north bank of the river, it could at any time safely retire.

The morning of the 13th—Saturday—was cold and frosty and soon a dense fog and the smoke of battle and the burning city obscured everything. The advantages and disadvantages

of this condition, if there had been earnest co-operation among the Union officers as there was in the rebel army, might, upon the whole, have been in favor of the assaulting party; but, as it turned out, it only added to the many other events which were delaying action, and taking us farther from the conditions of success, so fully and clearly pointed out from the beginning, which required a rapid movement.

Before daylight, we who were in bivouack on the north bank, were aroused by the noise of battle. It was all along the lines of both armies, by artillery and musketry occasioned by our near approach, preparatory to the assault which was to be made. Early in the morning General Meade was called to General Franklin's headquarters, accompanied by General Reynolds, commanding the First Corps, when he was informed that his division had been selected to make the attack, and the point was indicated. General Reynolds was directed to place his two other divisions in support. The division selected was the old Pennsylvania Reserves, including also the 142d Pennsylvania. It was at this moment that the grand division commanders, whose commands had been enlarged with a view to aid the commander of the Army of the Potomac, might have been described as "at their wits end" by an invidious critic, but these generals were hostile to the plan of battle and did not believe it could succeed, and, however sincere, it was no time for division and strife, and every consideration of right and patriotism ought to have appealed to them for the most prompt and effective effort by co-operation and encouragement. The river had been successfully crossed. Delays had occurred and but one hope remained to the gallant and intrepid commander—that a weak spot might be found on the enemy's left. If so, all might yet be well. If not, his artillery controlled the city and the plains and he could at any time safely return. He would make the attempt.

General Meade was possibly the best general in the Army of the Potomac that day, and he had some of the best soldiers to engage in the hazardous work which had been assigned to him. They numbered less than 5,000 men. The First and Third Brigades were formed in a column, supported by the Second. The rebels in their front and the Union army touching elbows in line with them, 200,000 armed men, with artillery and cavalry, were breathlessly awaiting the onslaught. Let us now briefly trace the fighting.

During the night the final arrangements for the battle were completed—a sleepless night for General Burnside. Gen-

eral Franklin was ordered to seize, if possible, the heights in front, and to send a column at once, of a division at least, in the lead, to be well supported, and to keep his whole command in readiness to follow. At the same time General Sumner was to be in readiness to carry the heights commanding the telegraph and plank roads—this assault to be made whenever it appeared possible for Franklin to succeed. Burnside sends a staff officer to be with Franklin. At 8.30 General Franklin directs General Reynolds, of the First Corps, to send General Meade's Third Division to make the attack. General Reynolds places General Doubleday's First Division on his left and Gibbon's Second Division on the right. Meade places his column of three brigades in line, the first commanded by Colonel Sinclair, closely supported by the Third, commanded by Colonel Jackson, and the Second Brigade commanded by Colonel Magilton, was in line of battle 200 paces in the rear. Four batteries of four guns each, belonged to the division. The rebel batteries open on Meade. General Franklin fears an attack on his left and holds his column, but Meade's men are pressing forward and gain ground steadily. At 9.40 Burnside is informed by his staff officer that Meade is halted. At 10.30 Burnside sends another staff officer to Franklin, who is urged to advance. At 11 o'clock Meade had gained a half mile, and General Stoneman, of the Third Corps, is directed to send Birney's Division across the river in support, but does not get into position until noon. Burnside complains that the Sixth Corps was not advanced, and urged that Franklin should send in his right and front. General Meade's column is fighting vigorously and the enemy's batteries open on him all along the line; Reynolds' and Smiths' batteries open on them and for two hours the artillery fire is maintained, when many of the enemy's batteries are silenced. General Smith subsequently testified that many of them could have been captured at this time. At 1.15 Meade is assaulting the hill and the men are in splendid spirits. At 1.40 300 prisoners are sent back. Gibbon has advanced on the right, but Doubleday is not engaged. Meade is advancing and is assaulted on the right and left flanks. His regiments change direction under severe fire of the enemy and protect their flanks. General Meade sends his staff officers for aid, but his one brigade is held at the railroad and Gibbon does not advance. Meade's two brigades gain the woods and the crest, and the rebels flee in confusion. Colonel Sinclair is wounded. Our victorious troops of the First and Third Brigades got among the reserves of Stonewall Jackson, where they find rows of stacked arms of regiments which had been driven away. The rebel general,

Gregg, was killed. Archer and Lane had been routed, and the key to Lee's position was held by the Pennsylvanians. This had been accomplished by heroic fighting and skilled generalship, aided by our superior artillery. Gen. Stonewall Jackson, in his report of the battle, stated that this attack, which surprised Gregg, flanked Archer and created such confusion, "was made by the main body of General Franklin's Grand Division, assisted by part of Hooker's Grand Division." The rebel general, Archer, says, "it was the cry, 'the enemy is in our rear,' which caused his men to retire in disorder." Ewell's Division had just arrived and were said to be weary, having marched eighteen miles to get there. D. H. Hill, who had also been down the river, was fifteen miles away the day before. These circumstances, together with the success of Meade, must be held as justifying the hope which moved General Burnside in his final plans for the battle.

General Meade was conscious of the danger to his gallant troops and earnestly appealed for support. The enemy were returning to the attack and our exhausted men were firing their last cartridges. They kept up a defense by ammunition gathered from their dead comrades. More than 50,000 comrades were lying upon their arms close in the rear, in full sight of the struggle. General Meade is in the thickest of the fray. Two bullets passed through the top of his old slouch hat. He returns to General Birney, not of his corps, and orders him to the support, who willingly responds by sending two regiments. But the delay is fatal. The weakness of our advance has been discovered, and the rebels return to assault them. Without ammunition and without a hope left Meade's column is driven back. The rebels fell in overwhelming numbers upon Gibbon, who is wounded. General Jackson, who so valiantly led the Third Brigade, is killed and more men are lost than in the advance. Stoneman's Corps—Birney and Sickles—aids Reynolds, and at 3 o'clock they are holding the line. General Bayard is killed near the headquarters of General Franklin. Our artillery silences their batteries and their advanced column is repulsed with severe loss and many prisoners. Our great guns on the north side of the river enfiladed them and together with our columns of fresh troops could easily repulse any advance. This position was maintained with more or less fighting all along the line, until darkness put an end to the conflict.

On the right, pursuant to the orders of General Burnside, General Sumner, at 8.30, ordered General Couch, of the Second Corps, to be in readiness to assault the heights commanding the

telegraph and plank roads, in the rear of the city. This was to be done in columns of a division, advancing in three lines by brigade, 200 yards between columns, with a division in support. The troops of Sumner's Grand Division—Second and Ninth Corps—were in the streets of the city, except Burns' Division of the Ninth Corps, which was with Franklin. Hooker's Grand Division was divided. Birney's and Sickles' Divisions of the Third Corps were with Franklin, and Whipple's Division was posted on the right of the city. The Fifth Corps, General Butterfield, was on the north side upon the river bank. These troops numbered nearly 60,000 men.

At 11 o'clock, just after General Burnside had sent a staff officer to Franklin directing him to advance the whole line, he also directed General Sumner to begin his attack upon the heights. The plank road leads from the city to the west of the heights and the telegraph road thus far parallel with the plank road, to the foot of the heights, where it turns east and south, to the sunken road, with stone walls on either side. Just in the rear of this point, on the crest of the hill, stands Mayea house, a large brick mansion, which was near the centre of the point of attack. A little further to our left is the unfinished railroad, and then Hazel Run, all nearly parallel with the telegraph and plank roads from the city to the hills. From the river, through the city to the foot of the heights, it is probably less than a mile, and about the same distance from the plank road to Hazel Run. Upon this ground all the fighting of the right took place, except by the artillery on the north bank of the river, which extended from Falmouth to the extremity of Franklin's lines, probably three miles. Our right and left met at Deep Run. The Fredericksburg and Richmond railroad and the Old Richmond or Bowling Green road passed out of the southwestern corner of the city, by the railroad station, east and southward, almost in a line corresponding to the line of hills occupied by the rebels, except on their extreme right, where the road passes through their lines southward. Thus our lines of battle were only about half as long as Lee's, which extended from opposite Falmouth to the Manaponox and the Rappahannock below Fredericksburg.

General Couch issued his orders as directed by General Sumner, and ordered French's Division to make the assault. There is a race or canal just outside the city, parallel with the river. The rebels, in retreating, tore the planks off the bridges, which greatly retarded the progress of the troops. There were no pioneers to repair roads or remove obstructions. All the

troops passed out either on the right or on the left of the battle ground, marching by the flank, and then forming into line of battle by the right or by the left, on the low grounds. From there to the sunken road, or stone wall, the ground rises in a gentle slope, broken here and there by smaller hills and ravines. Near the centre is a large brick house, and on the road extending along our right, or the upper side on both sides of the road, is a cluster of houses extending nearly to the rebel stronghold, and nearer to the city, on the right side of the road, is a large tannery. In the front, on the sunken road, are a few houses, in one of which the rebel general, Cobb, was killed. The battle ground mainly consisted of fields and town lots, with numerous board and other fences, which proved a great obstruction to the charging columns.

The point of attack was probably the enemy's strongest position. The sunken road was the best possible protection. This was closely supported by troops in field works along the slope of the heights, and by troops massed on the top, protected by earthworks. The grounds were also directly defended by the famous New Orleans Washington Artillery.

We were also enfiladed by the enemy's guns from many other points of their lines. Just why this particular point of attack was selected does not appear. General Burnside directed that the heights should be carried, but on the right and left were better approaches. General Sumner ordered the attack by divisions, in three lines, but his headquarters were at the Lacey house on the opposite side of the river, and he did not see the battlefield. General Couch had not been on the ground and did not see the field until French and Hancock had fought and were repulsed. Then he and General Howard went to the steeple of the court house. They were shocked. The troops were mixed up and they declared they never saw such fighting, nothing ever before approached it in uproar and destruction. One brigade after another went up in succession, would do their duty well and melt away. He said the assault must be made from the right and thus flank their stronghold. But, just then French and Hancock fear an advance by the enemy and call for support, and Howard's Division is relieved by Whipple's Division which charges over the same ground, with the same result, as French and Hancock had done. General Sturgis, of Wilcox's Ninth Corps, sends the brigades of Ferrero and Nagle. They made the same gallant fight, were met by the same secreted enemy and fared as did their comrades. It was a fearful mistake not to flank the stone wall, for there was not the remotest

possibility of the enemy advancing—and thus reversing the advantage of position.

General Burnside now, at about 2 o'clock, directed that Hooker should "put in everything" and carry the heights. This was at the same time he had ordered Franklin to "advance his whole line." General Hooker ranked General Couch, who must have felt that there was need of a general to execute as well as one to command, for he said, "Hooker's coming was like the breaking out of the sun in a storm." The centre grand division is hurried across the river at the two bridges, at the Lacey house and by the steamboat landing below. Couch tells Hooker to see Hancock. Hooker has no hope that the heights can be carried, and returns across the river to see General Burnside, and is absent for two hours. The only attempt the enemy made to advance was at this time, about 3 o'clock; but the leader was killed and the column was quickly dispersed. General Hooker now returned with orders to carry the heights at all hazards. General Griffin's Division is sent to support General Sturgis', and Generals Humphrey and Sykes, with their divisions, are sent to Couch. At this time, upon the return of General Hooker, General Caldwell, of Hancock's Division, sent word that the rebels were retreating. General Couch turned to General Humphrey and said: "General Hancock says the enemy is retreating; now is your time to go in." Humphrey, he said, "fairly sprang to the work, like the gallant hero he was."

The 131st Regiment was the first of Allabach's Brigade. Colonel Clark's 123d was the second; Colonel Speakmen's 133d was the third, and Colonel Allen's 155th was the fourth. Let us retrace our movements from our last formation on the north bank of the river. It was about 2 o'clock when Hooker's Fifth Corps was ordered over the river in haste, to use the three upper bridges. It was at the same time Franklin on our left and Sumner on the right were directed to advance their whole lines and Hooker was "to put in everything." The Fifth Corps was to support Couch. General Humphrey's Division crossed by the Lacey house bridge. Whilst waiting to get on the bridge, General Burnside made his way through the massed troops and passed through the regiment's lines. "You need not crowd, boys, there is plenty to do over there," he said, as the boys were jostled against his horse, and several of the men made replies to the commander's pleasantry. Private Henry Stees was nearest to him and looking up into his face he replied, "We are ready for the work, General." The rebel batteries on the other side now began to shell our moving column

as they passed upon the bridge. As our regiment passed down the ravine to the river bank several of these disagreeable missiles came most uncomfortably close to our ranks. A large excavation on the left of the road served as a "bomb proof" for a number of drummer boys, and other non-combatants, where the shells passed harmlessly over them. The city and the rebel lines were enveloped in the dark and sulphurous smoke of the battle, and we only now and then got glimpses of the steeples and the heights, but the murderous batteries, from both sides of the river, and the constantly repeated roar of the musketry of the infantry along the front fell ominously upon our ears as we slowly passed into columns leading upon the bridge, which kept rocking and swinging to the tread of the soldiers. Now and then a waiting band would strike up a tune and cheer the boys with "Bully for You," or "Dixie," so that the roar of battle and the explosion of shells would make the occasion "not too sombre nor too gay." As we reached the other side we noticed the newly-made graves of the gallant but lost comrades who gave their lives in placing the pontoons and driving the rebels out of the city, several days before. The smouldering ruins of houses and the debris of the battle in the streets and the terrible artillery storm which raked the poor city were in abundant evidence, and the storm was still on. The troops were much retarded in their progress on account of the delay in clearing the way in the streets of the city, where so many troops were massed. We turned to the left down the street next to the river, marching by the flank, and two and three regiments abreast. The rebel batteries at Mayre's Heights, and those near to the enemy's left, had the range of the streets running to the river, and they were playing upon the city, between intervals of the attacks, which the Second and Ninth Corps were making "in columns by brigades" at the front, so that our crossings of the streets were usually made with a rush. The upper bridge was quite up toward the upper end of the city and our columns were thus made to run those gauntlets as we advanced along the river. Whilst the head of the column of Allabach's Brigade was thus waiting to rush across one of the streets a shell, which did not keep in line, but came down over the tops of the houses, made a terrible racket, knocking off the gable end of the brick house, under which we were sheltered, striking on the river bank and exploded among some officers' horses, killing several of them and wounding some men. It took off a large branch of a tree which fell at our feet, immediately in front of the 131st and 133d Regiments, marching side by side. It was then I met Adjutant Noon, of the 133d, who related to me the incident of his pre-

sentiment which he had before the battle. He was prostrated by the shock of the exploding shell and the falling tree and chimneys, and I thought he was wounded. I bent down to speak to him, but he quickly and bravely recovered and told me he was not struck, but he was all unnerved. He then related to me how he felt that he would be killed, and he could not help being all unstrung, but he would not hear of falling out, which I advised him to do. He said he could march and he would perform his duty. I learned subsequently that he had been so impressed that before the advance he wrote letters home, giving some directions in view of his being killed in the approaching battle, and that he had freely spoken to a few of his confidential friends of his presentiment. He had scarcely got upon the battlefield when he was struck by a bullet in the head, killing him instantly, just as he was most gallantly aiding in leading his regiment in the charge upon the stone wall at the foot of Marye's Heights.

Whilst our division was waiting in the city it seems that Allabach's Brigade was nearest the street which led out to the front, when General Couch called on General Humphrey to support the troops of the Second Corps. The second—our brigade—was therefore ordered in front and we passed out of the city left in front, I think through Hanover street, over the race bridge which had the planks torn off, where we filed to the left, and deployed in line of battle, in full view of the enemy, and under an increased storm of shot and shell. Here we faced to the right, thus placing us again on the right of the line. The First Brigade, General Tyler's, soon followed, after we had advanced, and were massed on the right of the road near the tannery. Colonel Speakman, of the 133d, erroneously states in his report of the battle that his regiment was on the right of the line in our assault. This honor belonged to our regiment, and its colonel was the ranking officer and by reason thereof was in command of the brigade. There certainly were no troops in the battle, in our column, on our right, and Major Patton, who there took command of our regiment, upon inquiry, writes that the 131st was on the extreme right in the battle. Colonel Clark, with his 123d, was on our left. Our brigade was formed in two lines, and Colonel Speakman, with the 133d, and Colonel Allen, of the 155th, formed the second line, of which Colonel Speakman's regiment was on the right. The last assault had just been made by Howard, aided on his left by General Sturgis, of the Ninth Corps, where the gallant Fifty-first boys of Union county fought in General Ferrero's Brigade, and where

Griffin's Division was put in. It was in support of that assault that General Couch directed a battery to be brought up to the rear of the charging column. Captain Morgan replied, "General a battery could not live out there," to which he replied, "Then it must die out there." Captain Hazard's battery was sent and it did most effective execution, especially by its enfilading fire upon the enemy in front of Sturgis. A portion of another battery was sent to his support under Captain Frank. It was these batteries which came up behind our brigade when we were close up to the front, and sent their iron hail into the hills in our front, over our heads, and over the heads of the rebels in the sunken road as well; but they were effective among the rebels on the crest. These batteries were with difficulty quieted long enough to let us pass through their lines, and then our brigade was sent upon its mission up the slope over the "slaughter house" battlefield, to the front of the stone wall, where all day long our comrades, "by divisions, in columns of brigades," were sent to the harvest of death in an aimless and hopeless battle, by generals who failed to understand orders and could not co-operate.

There have been many flattering tributes written by military men, of both sides, to the valor of the Union soldiers who made these successive assaults. Being on the extreme right, near by the road which passes by the tannery and the clump of houses near the stone wall, where General Brook's troops were gathered, we could probably see more of our assaulting column, than could be seen from any other point on the line. When as a boy I eagerly read the illustrated story of a great battle, I often stopped to sigh and wish I might sometime, at least, look on and see a battle. As I looked upon our proud column that day, I certainly was surrounded with "all the pride, pomp and circumstances of glorious war!" This was real war, and the work done by the 131st soldiers was not exceeded on any of the historic battlefields—not by the charge at Balaklava, immortalized by Tennyson, nor by that of Pickett's men at Gettysburg. We were geographically about in the centre of the contending lines, as well as in the midst of the carnage dealt out by the long lines of Union and rebel infantry, as well as by the great guns, enfilading and direct, along the Stafford hill, and the rebel heights, in front and rear. The broken down fences, the killed and wounded men and horses, the noise and smoke of the battle were certainly enough to gratify any studious or morbid desire, and I was more than satisfied. When we deployed and formed our line of battle the brigade was ordered to cast off everything

that might impede our progress—our coats, knapsacks and haversacks—all but our guns and ammunition. There was no change, no variation of attack, but from beginning to end, "by divisions, in columns of brigades," they danced that dance of death, the victims of that nameless demon spirit, which ruled that great but unfortunate Army of the Potomac. And this went on until the greater light of the presence of Grant made it hide its head in shame and disappear. Then Burnside's plan, the President's plan, the great patriotic people's plan prevailed, and the long-suffering, often-defeated Army of the Potomac was led by Meade and Grant, who attacked Lee, though always fortified, yet was never defeated, until the final triumph at Appomattox.

General Humphrey had not been upon the ground and did not know its nature, nor the position of the enemy in front; but his experienced military eye soon disclosed to him the fruitless character of the attack he was making. Our brigade had only gone half the distance over the plain when it was halted and he changed his orders. There were no battle lines to be supported or needed support. Any rebels attempting to uncover themselves were quickly swept away by the strong and skillful line of soldiers who, without organization or corps or division general, lay close up to the front, the remnants of all the columns, and held that line from the first assault until the last at night. We were now ordered to reserve our fire until we had passed beyond a mass of troops in our front and then charge the stone wall with the bayonet. The column again advanced, and then we met the full power of the enemy, and our column faded away from that fire just as all the other columns had done before us. Some of the men remained in the front lines until dark, some returned, some to the left, by the brick house, some to the spot from which we charged with the bayonet; and several companies remained in front.

General Tyler's First Brigade was now ordered across the road into the ravine. General Humphrey believed, as Hancock believed, that the crest could be carried and his energy was exerted to the utmost. Tyler's men were now ordered in, just where he formed, and most gallantly went forward, just as the other brigades had done, over the same ground, and practically with the same result. On our left, General Getty, of the Ninth Corps, at about the same time, made an assault in support, along the line of the unfinished railroad. General Sykes' Division did not make an assault, but was in reserve on Humphrey's right, and after the battle, at about 11 p. m., held

the front line. In some of the rebel reports of the battle they represent Humphrey's charge as the most persistent attack and attributed it to a greater column and that it was made by the Regulars of the Fifth Corps. Some of the histories of the war fall into the same error; but Sykes' Regulars were not on the field when Humphrey's first charge was made, and they did not make an assault. This fact was subsequently made the subject of an article in a public announcement by Capt. Carson McClellan, of General Humphrey's staff, in order to correct the error. Thus the unequal contest was kept up, until merciful darkness came and put an end to it.

On the left General Franklin's column maintained the line held after the attack of Meade's column, and easily repulsed every effort made by the enemy to advance. There was firing all along the line and at times by infantry, and artillery, with all the tumult of great battle, but Franklin, it seems, did not understand his orders to mean that he should defeat Lee, and would not advance, and Stonewall Jackson could not, and so the battle ended there.

When our brigade was in Colonel Allabach was close to General Humphrey and gave him his utmost support in directing the assault. Major Patton and Adjutant Pollock, by their bravery and constant contact with the men, endeared themselves to them forever, and won distinction for meritorious service. The captains and lieutenants, as well, stood to their posts and, like the men, performed their duty.

In recounting some of the details of our charge, I, of course, write from my point of view only, and I sincerely regret that many deserving things to be mentioned are unavailable to me for record here. The story of Company C, Captain Jones, I think, must be nearly identical with that of Company A, for, as I recollect it, we were side by side through it all. But further to our left I lost much of what was done by the breaks in our line, occasioned by intervening fences, or with obstructions, and by the merciless fury of the hidden enemy behind the stone walls, the open mouths of the Washington Artillery on the crest, and the shot and shell rained upon us, or at us, from all sides. The right of the regiment advanced parallel with the telegraph road, and near to it, possibly deflecting somewhat to the right. The centre and left deflected more to the left, towards the brick house. Captain Jones and Adjutant Pollock were the only officers except Lieutenants Kepler and Fichthorn, of Company A, with whom I conversed during the advance; but, at intervals, through the smoke, I got glimpses of the

whole line. There was very little for any officer to do. The men did everything. Orders were indeed given, but all the officers, everywhere, conformed with alacrity to the necessities of the occasion, which was all they could do, and these were alike mandatory to officers and privates, who advanced and fell, and rose like billows on the sea.

It was a sorrowing gathering of the defeated but not dismayed soldiers of the broken columns when they gathered upon their colors, after the recoil from the fatal stone wall, and listened to roll call. It appears the whole army was required to do this and report their losses. These reports were subsequently tabulated and appear in the "Rebellion Records," and they were, of course, correct reports of what was then known, but many of those then reported killed later returned to their companies, and others reported missing were among the killed, and some of the wounded died upon the field or in the hospitals of the city. There were few prisoners taken from the right, except only those necessarily left after recrossing the river.

General Humphrey and Colonel Allabach personally led our brigade from the field down to General Tyler's Brigade, where he directed the division to form in the ravine where he had deployed. He also directed that searching parties should be sent forward to gather all the killed and wounded. In this Company A had anticipated him, for, after our repulse, when we were waiting at the point from which General Humphrey and Colonel Allabach led our brigade, I had sent a faithful detail in search of our lost comrades. Lieutenant Kepler was left in command and I accompanied Lieutenant Fichthorn with a detail. Privates William H. Aikey, George W. Lashells and Henry Stees were known to have fallen, and many others were sorely wounded. We failed to find Aikey; but several days after we returned to the old camp, when we continued our searches, we found his grave, plainly marked with name, company and regiment, in a field hospital burial ground, near the river, not far from Fredericksburg. He was doubtless taken up and carried to the rear by our faithful ambulance corps. Lashells and Stees were found lying near together, helpless, in the little square field, in sight of the stone wall. We had almost given up the search, as we had gone as far as we supposed we had advanced upon the final charge, which we made when Tyler's Brigade advanced. There were only a few scattered bodies, but one of the men there was believed to be Stees. I struck a match and bent close and fully recognized him. He had a severe wound in the fore-

head and was unconscious, but not dead. His comrades placed him upon a blanket and bore him to the rear, when they saw him placed in an ambulance. They had scarcely started with their precious burden when our voices were recognized and we were called by Lashells, lying close by. I quickly turned to him, when he recognized me and requested some water. Our canteens had all been emptied, for all up that line over which our advance lay, there were very many helpless wounded and fevered ones, who pitifully called to be taken off, and for water. I tested the canteens of a number of the dead and found one nearly filled, which I cut off, and George drank freely from it. We inquired of his wounds, but he could not talk distinctly. He raised his hand to his breast, when it fell back, seemingly limp and powerless, but we saw that his hand was wounded, and inferred that he wished to point to his breast. He was not aware that his comrades were bearing the body of his schoolmate and friend. They soon returned and carried him back to the ambulance corps, and placed him in an ambulance. All our wounded succeeded in getting off, and we did not leave a man on the field. We never afterward could find a trace of Stees. He probably never recovered, and died before reaching the hospital. He had abundant evidence of his identity about him, and his place of burial was probably marked, but after the rebels reoccupied the city all the headboards and other evidences of the tender care of comrades were entirely obliterated and destroyed. These bodies, so far as possible, were subsequently gathered into the National Cemetery, where they fill up those great lines of "unknown" graves, sacredly and tenderly preserved by the grateful government for the preservation of which they gave their young lives. The grave of Lashells was found several weeks later, on the north side of the river, and his body was taken home by his father and laid away in the cemetery at Buffalo X Roads. Those who were slightly wounded remained with the company, others were treated in the field hospitals, or were sent to Washington and Point Lookout. Emanuel Snyder was killed by a sharpshooter next day, on the same ground where we were lying.

When our details in search of our dead and wounded went over that field of slaughter it was quite dark, but we could readily trace our progress and saw how our column had evidently been deflected to the right and left under the severe fire which we met; the right towards the road, and the left towards the brick house. Our losses on the right occurred principally in the field beyond the last fence which we crossed, near the road on our right. The losses on the left were principally after they

had charged up beyond the brick house, directly in the rear of the little house, in which the rebel general, Cobb, was killed. The killed of the Second Corps were still lying there—the enemy not permitting them to be removed. Near the road, where Kline and the Burkholder boys were wounded, I saw the body of one who appeared to be an officer, with a Smith & Wesson pistol in his hand. Stooping down and lighting a match I found he belonged to the Fifty-third Pennsylvania, Colonel Brooke's Regiment, in which was another Union county company, E, Captain Church. They were close by the clump of houses on the right. This officer was probably Lieutenant Cross, the only officer reported killed in the report of Colonel Brooke, although two others died of their wounds. I jumped down into the road at this point, hoping I might meet friends in the Fifty-third, but I failed to find them. Colonel Brooke was detailed a few days later—on the 17th and 18th—to bury our dead under a flag of truce. He reported that the bodies of the men in French's Division were found nearest the stone wall, an honor claimed by many of the commanders of regiments and brigades in their reports of the battle. General Humphrey claimed this honor for his men. General Walker, in his "History of the Second Corps," cites Colonel Brooke's report as conclusive evidence, and adds that General Humphrey was not on the ground when French's advance was made. But, what is better, General Humphrey was on the ground later. He gathered and removed his men at a time when a truce in the battle permitted us to go to the front and when the bodies were easily recognized. When Colonel Brooke buried the poor fellows they had been cruelly stripped of their clothing; their bodies were black and unrecognizable, and many of them mangled, fingers and hands having been cut off for jewelry. Clearly he could not then see where General Humphrey's men had been.

In reply to Captain Humphrey's letter upon this point, the following letter from an officer on the other side will fairly establish the claim made by General Humphrey, namely, that in the last attack upon the stone wall his division made the nearest approach to the rebel stronghold:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 16, 1891.

DEAR CAPTAIN HUMPHREY: The Richmand Fayette Artillery, a six gun battery, of which I was an officer, was attached to McLaw's division, (of General Lee's army). On the 11th of December, 1862, we were placed in position in General Lee's

line of battle, near the telegraph road, on a commanding hill, which overlooked the whole city of Fredericksburg, and the plains below, and along the Rappahannock River. We were also in close proximity to Marye's Heights. Generals Lee and Longstreet, with their staffs, occupied positions near our battery, to watch the progress of the battle.

Our guns were intended to rake the field and the old railroad cut in our front. On our left and down in front of Marye's Heights ran the telegraph road. This road was about four feet below the level of the land on the side nearer to town, while on the upper side rose Marye's Heights, a splendid natural fortification for any body of troops to resist the advance of an approaching army. In this sunken road (called the stone wall) were placed General Cobb's Division and one brigade of McLaw's Division. On the 11th the city of Fredericksburg was shelled, driving out all the inhabitants. On December 13th the great battle was fought. From our position we could see the whole line of battle. I saw the three grand, but desperate and unsuccessful, assaults that were made upon the sunken road.

The first attack was made just after the repulse of General Franklin on our right, and I believe was made by General French's Division. After a fierce struggle, over many obstacles, this division retreated with heavy loss.

The second charge was made almost immediately after the first—the troops were of General Hancock's Division. Both of these assaults were made to our left and immediately in front of Marye's Heights, and in consequence were further from our position, so we took little part in these two assaults. The third and last assault was made near sunset, and came closer and nearer to our works than the first two. The troops in this charge were of the Fifth Corps, General Humphrey's Division. They were handled in a most masterly manner, and were pressed forward with vigor and determination to capture the works at the foot of Marye's Heights, and the telegraph road. As the troops of this last assault emerged and formed line for charge our guns opened on them with great effect, but notwithstanding this gallant and disastrous fire in their front, they came forward with a rush, nearly approaching the telegraph road, and the works under the hill. It was with difficulty that Cobb's and Cook's Brigades could hold their position during this assault. General Humphrey's Division was repulsed with heavy loss, perhaps more so than any other two divisions, from the fact that he pressed his troops closer and

harder in the attack. We lost many valuable officers and men in this assault.

I do not hesitate to say that if General Humphrey's Division had attacked our line a little further to the right, he would undoubtedly have avoided a great portion of the sunken road and the fire from the batteries on Marye's Heights, (the Washington Artillery), and no doubt would have captured a part of the telegraph road, there being only two brigades behind the stone wall.

A day or two after the battle I went out with a flag of truce between the lines to see about burying the dead, but more especially to find the body of Captain King, who was on General McLaw's staff, and was killed during the last assault. I saw the dead as they had fallen in their charge, and while I do not wish to detract anything from the hard fought but bloody battle in which they had been repulsed, I must in justice say that the dead bodies I saw close to our works belonged to General Humphrey's Division. Very respectfully yours,

ROBERT J. FLEMING.

General Cobb was killed at the Stephens house, just in front of the rebel line. Mrs. Martha Stephens, who was there during the battle, is quoted as saying: "The field was blue in the morning, before the army was taken off, by next morning it was white, and it did not snow, either, that night." She meant that all the clothes had been stripped from the bodies of the Union soldiers. Three soldier caps, bearing the numbers "131, P. V.," were found close by Mrs. Stephens' house. They are said to be among the relics now in the National Cemetery collection at Fredericksburg.

There has been much controversy, also, between the men of Allabach's and Tyler's Brigades, growing out of the two assaults, and the erroneous reports made concerning them. Allabach's Brigade did not retire after they made their assault, but they were on the field until after dark, many of them having advanced with Tyler's Brigade when it made its magnificent charge. Companies A and C charged with them with almost full ranks, and possibly other companies on our left. Colonel Clark, of the 123d, who was on our left in the front line of our column with the 131st, in his report of the battle says that "four companies of the right wing of his regiment did not retire until after dark." Tyler's Brigade, as it came out of the city, was placed on the right of the road, near to the old tannery, where they remained until after our charge was made.

They were then brought upon the same ground where we had formed, made their charge, and retired to the place from which they started. General Humphrey clearly states this point in his report, when he says, "Directing General Tyler to reform his brigade under cover of the ravine I returned to the portion of Allabach's Brigade still holding, with the other troops, the line of embankment. My force being too small to try another charge. I communicated the result to General Butterfield and received instructions to bring the remainder of my troops to the ravine. This was accordingly done, the 123d and 155th, commanded by Colonel Clark and Colonel Allen, retiring slowly and in good order, singing and hurrahing. Colonel Allabach brought off the other two regiments, the 131st and the 133d, in equally good order." It will be seen thus that Allabach's Brigade, which was first and last on the field—led off by General Humphrey and Colonel Allabach, back to where General Tyler's Brigade was previously stationed. General Humphrey states that many of Allabach's men advanced with Tyler's Brigade, as did some of the troops of the Second Corps, and he complains that the column became too large to handle properly. But that was done, all day, upon every charge that was made. No human eye could see the front of those columns, for they were enveloped in an impenetrable smoke. I was on the extreme right, and saw as much as could be seen, but I could see little more than our first two companies. I fully believed we were going in and the officers raised their swords aloft and cried out, "They are retreating; forward, men!" From rebel reports I learned that these were troops which had been relieved, which I believed then was likely to be a stampede. I am quite sure that our front ranks were fired into by the column which had become "too massive," and some of the shells and solid shot of our batteries also fell too near or passed confusingly close over our heads. There can be but little doubt that General Humphrey was well fortified with the facts to fully substantiate his claim in his report, as to the error in allowing other troops in his front when he was directed to charge the stone wall with the bayonet; and, to my mind, General Couch, who on several occasions directed that the mass of troops behind the stone wall ought to be flanked by an attack from the right of the plank road, and by batteries to enfilade them, made a fatal error when he recalled or did not enforce his orders.

Cobb's Brigade and the Twenty-fourth North Carolina were placed by General McLaws along the telegraph road, in front of Marye's Heights. When Cobb's got into position,

Ransom's Division was withdrawn and placed in reserve. This was the force against which the first assaults were made. The Washington Artillery withdrew before the final charge was made, but was reinforced by Kershaw's Brigade, just doubling the numbers to General Humphrey. Some of the retiring troops gave the appearance of a retreat, and doubtless gave rise to the reports that the enemy was retreating, when General Humphrey was ordered in.

General Hancock, in his report, says: "No ground was held in front of our line, nor did any soldiers fall nearer the enemy than those of the regiments of Kimball's Brigade of French's Division." It became very evident to the supporting columns of Hooker's men that the Second and Ninth Corps were very jealous about our troops of the Fifth Corps advancing beyond their line. It was an interference of which General Humphrey said, "I cannot refrain from expressing the opinion that one of the greatest obstacles to my success was the mass of troops lying on our front line. They ought to have been removed before mine advanced." General Hancock had likewise reported that the enemy was retreating, when we were ordered in; but he was as clearly misinformed upon that occasion as he may have been as to the point where the troops of the respective columns fell. I find that a number of brigade and regimental commanders of the divisions of Sturgis, Griffin and Getty, who also charged the stone wall a little on our left, made similar claims for the head of their columns, in their reports of the battle. At 9 p. m. we were taken across the road beyond the tannery, up near to the unfinished Mary Washington Monument, where we bivouacked in the mud and fell asleep upon our arms.

The conditions for rest and slumber were not favorable. The mild temperature and bright sunshine of the afternoon, in seeming mockery of the stormy human passions which were raging, had thawed the frozen ground and the tread of many battalions had so mixed it as to constitute the surface a sea of mortar. But, relieved from duty, tired nature would soon assert itself, and if the soldiers could get down and secure warmth they would sleep anywhere. A rebel battery heard our moving column and sent a few shells into the dark to feel us. The last one was not far out of range. Lieutenants Kepler and Fichthon proposed to pool our blankets, so we placed one in the mud and enclosed ourselves in the other two, and we were ready for

sleep. But the last shell was uncomfortably near, and we had about made up our minds that it was rather too damp there, but the battery directed its efforts to some other point and we were soon fast in the embrace of Morpheus. The men of the 131st. in a long battle line, slept upon their arms, and were bundled up in all conceivable postures, tired and dejected by the cruel fortunes of the day. We got but a short sleep, for, about 12 o'clock, midnight, we were aroused and called into ranks. There are no laggards upon such occasions and the boys responded to the call with alacrity. Many of the troops were out of ammunition and it had been determined to renew the attack in the morning. We were therefore ordered down into the city, where we awaited our turn and received our supply. We took such opportunity as we found to look after our wounded, but failed to find any that night. Nearly all the houses along the streets upon which we were waiting, were full of wounded soldiers. The doors were all open, and the halls and rooms, front and back, and many up stairs, were occupied by rows of sick, wounded and dead—their heads to the wall, rows upon rows of them. We ran along these rows, taking only quick looks to see if we could find our own. Having received our ammunition we were immediately taken up through the city and out to the front on the same line which we had occupied in the battle. We were close up to the front, but all was comparatively quiet, only an occasional shot or shell was thrown where there seemed to be a movement of troops, and the pickets kept up a weak fire in the front. The conformation of the ground was such as to afford us protection, if we kept close down. Sykes' Regulars, of our Corps, were on the picket line. Here we remained all day Sunday. Late in the afternoon Private Emanuel Snyder, of Company A, was killed by a rifle shot by a sharpshooter from one of the houses within their lines. Several men in the regiment had been wounded, and I had been munching some crackers and conversing with some of the men at the head of the company, among them Snyder. Seeing a little commotion down the line and a knot of officers gathered there, I crept there to confer with them upon the situation. I was running along in a stooping position, when the men of the next company called to me, "One of your men was just now hit." I quickly retraced my steps and Snyder was already quite dead, having been shot through the heart. His brother, William, was by his side and the comrades did all that was possible to do. We were soon after called into line for a move, and after a hurried consultation it was deemed best to bury him at once, and his body was carefully and tenderly borne to the rear

a short way, attended by his brother and a few comrades and laid away.

* * "Not in sheet nor in shroud we wound him ;
But he lay like a warrior taking his rest,
With his martial cloak around him."

Snyder was one of the tall and splendid soldiers among the fours at the head of the company and regiment, of whom the officers of Company A were justly proud. Willing, obedient, careful, cheerful, their commendable spirit and conduct made it easy and a pleasure to command such men.

I will not enter into the details of the struggle which was going on among many officers of high rank concerning the continuation of the battle. General Burnside insisted that our battle had not been fought and he proposed to lead his old Ninth Corps in person and renew the effort. But such was the intensity of the opposition to Burnside that he finally yielded, and it was determined not to renew the attack.

Our army remained all day Sunday and Monday holding the city and all the line from right to the extreme left, the rebels remaining behind their entrenchments so closely, that when we retired across the river, on Monday night, they failed to discover the fact until all our troops were safely across.

On Sunday evening, just after the sad burial scene, we were again relieved for a while and were taken into the city, at about 8 o'clock, to be assigned to another position in the line. We had strict orders not to leave the ranks—but hunger was also commanding, and some of the men took turns to run into some of the abandoned rebel homes to find and prepare something warm to replenish the inner man, not having had a warm bite for some days. After lying upon the ground resting for some time, I was aroused by Sergeant Halfpenny, who requested me to step back with him, as some of the boys had taken advantage in the lull of duty, and had prepared a supper to which they considerably invited their officers. They were in the kitchen of a large brick house, had a rousing fire in the range, hot coffee, fried ham and "hot pan cakes" were smoking on the table, set with an array of dishes which were probably considered ornamental if not useful. As all had been living wholly from their haversacks and had no fires for three or four days, it will not require an effort to imagine how hungry all were and how this supper was relished. There was no wanton destruction of anything in the house nor in the city by our men, but the boys kept that kitchen going as long as the hams and

flour held out. This was doubtless done by many others of the regiment with varied experiences. We were next placed on the line in the upper part of the city. General Whipple was on the right, his lines extending to the river above the city. General Griffin was on the left, his line extending to Fauquier street, and General Humphrey's Division was on Griffin's left near the cemetery extending to Amelia street, connecting with General Sykes' Division, which extended to Hanover street, where he connected with the Second Corps. The Second and Ninth Corps held the lower part of the city, connecting with Franklin. At noon, on Monday, the 15th, the Fifth Corps was ordered to hold the city and was assigned the duty of covering the passage of the army to the north side. The search for our dead and wounded was continued by many. I remember in a little yard by what I took to be a church, I found a group of men of Company F. They had just tenderly closed a grave upon the body of their much esteemed commander, Captain George W. Ryan, who was killed in front of the stone wall, when gallantly leading his men in the bayonet charge. They had carefully marked his grave, with name, company and regiment. Thus the watching and waiting was continued and many of our wounded were found and cared for. Lieutenant Bruner, of Company E, I learned, had been killed, but I did not know what became of his body. We searched diligently for the bodies of Stees, Lashells and Aikey, of our company, but were not successful. The scenes about us there were those of a ruined and pillaged city, and will never be forgotten by any who were there.

Orders were received that our line should now be entrenched and barricades should be thrown up, but all the troops could not engage, as there were few implements in the front. but a strong line was soon formed, with an array of batteries which would have easily resisted any advance likely to be made. At 10 o'clock Monday night, the whole lower part of the city was abandoned by the Second and Ninth Corps and our lines were extended to the left to cover a portion of the ground. I then first learned that our troops were ordered over the river to the northern side. The column of Ferero's Brigade was coming in and passing through our lines. I was lying on a broken shutter by the wayside, trying to get a nap, when the boisterous boys of the old Fifty-first recognized Company A, and their mutual recognition, under the circumstances, was somewhat demonstrative. Captain George A. Hassenplug, of Company E, coolly put his hand all over my head and announced, as he hurried by, "The next battalion will meet at Johnny Weaver's,"



CAPT. FRANK T. WILSON,
COMMANDING COMPANY I.

and then was off in the dark with the mass of troops with their muffled tread, down towards the bridges.

There were some rifle pits and entrenchments thrown up, but there were none on the line held by the 131st. Some of Tyler's Regiment extending their lines down below the railroad station, and Company E, of the Ninety-first, not receiving notice to retire, fought its way out after daylight and ten of their men were captured. The right wing of the 131st came very near being left in a similar position. One of the streets divided our regiment. When the order of withdrawal came the officers were on the left, and the left wing withdrew, but did not communicate the order across the street to the right wing. When Colonel Allabach got his brigade together he quickly discovered the error and sent an officer after us. It was near daylight and we were on the advance, but were blissfully ignorant of our exposed position. I think that Captain Lentz, of Company E, Ninety-first, whose men kept up a lively fire upon the rebel pickets, may have had much to do in deceiving the enemy, and preventing their discovering the retreat. At all events, it was 6.30 in the morning when General Humphrey ordered our recall, and some time elapsed before the right wing of the regiment left the line, but so successful had been the withdrawal the enemy had not yet suspected it. The officer sent for us very excitedly came to Company A and said the whole line had been withdrawn and we should hurry out of this as quickly as possible, or we would all be captured. The city had been searched and stragglers and the sleeping ones, and all our wounded and stores were withdrawn. General Franklin, on the left, had successfully recrossed the river, his rear guard passing over at 4.30 and his bridges were all taken up in less than an hour afterwards. Our corps was given two bridges, but before we crossed the officer in charge of the lower one, who had been given orders to take it up as soon as it was not needed, when he found few troops there took it up; but later it was found our troops had been busy in the city and when General Hooker learned that only one bridge remained he ordered the other to be instantly replaced, and, as Major Spaulding, of the engineers, states in his report, "In less than twenty-five minutes after I received General Hooker's order, the bridge was again ready for use." Griffin's and Humphrey's Divisions now crossed the river and Sykes' Regulars followed, the last brigade leaving the upper bridge at 8 o'clock.

Lieut.-Col. W. H. Powell, of the Eleventh United States

Infantry, in his History of the Fifth Corps, thus refers to that last night at Fredericksburg:

“Who that lives and was present in the city of Fredericksburg can forget the last night spent there? In the early part of the night it had rained—a cold December rain—but towards midnight it cleared away, and a chilling, bleak wind from the north sent great black clouds scudding across the sky, through which occasionally peeped a feeble moon. Torn awnings and broken window shutters flapped and banged about, starting echoes in every nook and corner, while broken signboards, swinging on their metal fastenings, uttered groans and shrieks as of incarnate fiends let loose from Hades. The horses’ hoofs rang out on the cobblestones of the streets with such rebounding echoes as to fill the mind with superstitious dread, while the ghastly dead lay on the door steps, on the sidewalks, in the front yards of dwellings, with their faces turned towards heaven, while their open eyes, as a stream of moonlight feel athwart their faces, glared at me as if staring from another world. Through such as this it was the writer of this history made his lonely ride to the bridge.”

At 8.45 Major Spaulding had the bridge on the north side, near the old piers of the old burned bridge, and 10 o’clock his men went into camp. When the enemy emerged from their entrenched lines and stone walls they discovered what their pickets had not done, that the Army of the Potomac had retired unmolested to their old camps. About daylight rain commenced falling, and when rain falls here the bottom falls out of the roads, and these discomforts were also heaped upon the brave but dejected, abused men, who abundantly and gloriously proved their metal but did not really meet their enemy in battle on account of a “wrangle among our own generals.”

“Some things arise of strange and *quarreling* kind,
The fore part lion, and a snake behind.”

CHAPTER VII.

AFTER THE BATTLE.

IT is more than thirty years since that sorrowful event on the field of Fredericksburg, and the head of the youngest living soldier is gray, but no one who was there will forget the deep impressions which that terrible scene then made. There was no time to give to our dead and wounded, who so recently went from our camp so full of life and hope; now the quiet of our quarters for the first time left these brave soldiers to their reflections upon the losses which they had sustained. In the leisure of the tent every detail of the battle, from the time we broke camp until our wet, wearied and sorrowful return, was eagerly gone over; our killed and wounded comrades and every incident connected with their fate, as was common after every battle, were sadly recalled and notes compared of the individual experiences, from the headquarters of the generals to the tents of the men along the lines who fought the battle.

From the lists of the officers in charge of the several companies of the 131st I copy the following losses, as they were reported. I find it is not an accurate list of all killed, wounded and missing; but it is a report of what was known at the time:

Company A, Captain Orwig. Killed, Privates Wm. H. Aikey, George W. Lashells. Emanuel Snyder, Henry G. Stees. Wounded, Lieut. Wm. Fichthorn, side, slight; Sergt. Isaac Treat, head; Corporal Henry Phillips, breast; Corporal Samuel S. Smith, in hand; Corporal N. W. Strahan, leg; Corporal Chas. Worman (color guard) concussion; Privates Lewis Burkholder, by shell in foot, severe; Wm. Burkholder, in hip; Peter Collins, side; Henry C. Kline, leg, severe; Emanuel Leib, head and thigh; Wm. Rossman, arm amputated.

Company B, Captain Bly. Killed, Privates John Comley, J. Truckamiller. Wounded, Lieut. Jos. M. Irvine, head; Corporal J. L. Durham, knee; Corporal J. Heckel, disabled by shell; Corporal Daniel J. Reader, shoulder; Privates Wm. H. Dennes, shoulder; J. W. Dougherty, breast, severe; G. W. Haag, bowels, severe; R. A. Guffy, head, severe; J. Lodge, foot; Chas. Starr, foot; G. Wertz, shoulder, severe; J. Williver, arm.

Company C, Captain Jones. Killed, Privates Peter Fisher, Landis Stanier, George W. Lavan, Samuel Walker. Wounded, Corporal J. M. Rockafeller, hand and arm; Samuel Swenk, hand; Corporal C. P. Seasholtz, thigh; S. A. Bird, arm; J. M.

Achmuty, side, by shell, severe; A. S. Haas, shoulder; Elias Hoover, wrist, severe; James Hunt, back and side, by shell, severe; D. M. Rashner, disabled; Moses Kulp, hand; Peter Kulp, head; George Mautz, face; S. O. Reed, hand; Isaac Sarvis, arm and leg; Wm. Yearger, arm; G. Y. Weiner, head. Missing, John Everet, C. A. Spratt.

Company D, Captain McManigal. Killed, Privates Joseph H. Smith, Wm. C. Heister, Edwin P. Mertz, John W. Ort, Ebenezer Ford. Wounded, Capt. D. A. McManigal, arm, severe; Lieut. D. D. Muthersbaugh, wrist; Sergt. R. S. Parker, leg (died in hospital, Washington, D. C.); Sergt. James Conch, head; Corporal J. T. Rothrock, thigh; Chas. Marks, right arm, amputated; Geo. W. Stall, neck; Henry H. Renninger, arm; Jacob Rohrer, arm; David Stenberger, arm and side, severe; James Hackett, leg, severe; W. P. Witheron, neck, severe; Miles Guiher. Missing, David Robenault, B. Alexander, Geo. K. Dippery.

Company E, Captain Isaiah B. Davis. Killed, Lieut. Wm. A. Bruner, Private John Straub. Wounded, Capt. I. B. Davis, arm and foot; Sergt. Elias Barts, shoulder; Wm. Angstadt, arm; Samuel Byerly, leg; Wm. A. Fisher, side; Samuel M. Miller, side; Wm. Runkel, arm; Jacob Smith, breast; L. B. Shuck, arm; W. H. Trego, arm; Curtis B. Watson, wrist. Missing, D. J. Kremer, George C. Sheets, wounded.

Company F, Captain Ryan. Killed, Capt. George W. Ryan, Sergt. John Gardner, Private Samuel Koch. Wounded, Sergt. F. W. Keller, knee; S. S. Schoch, shoulder; J. H. Lewis, hand; Corporal David Getz, leg, severe; A. Renninger, leg; E. H. Harman, hand, severe; Henry Renninger, leg; John Hagerty, hip; John Bolinger, hip; D. W. Laudenslager, arm; G. A. Musser, side; John Spahr, hand; John M. Howel, shoulder; B. F. Lase; D. G. Shive, cheek; J. Roush, arm; James Musser, leg; W. H. Gemberling, arm. Missing, M. W. Row, J. P. Smith, E. F. Teats, Henry W. Mattes, Benj. Lose.

Company G, Captain Charles B. Davis. Killed, Corporal John Myer, Privates John Sarvey, Joseph Divers, Samuel Stonecypher. Wounded, Capt. Chas. B. Davis, knee; David R. Foust, neck; John Waldren, side; Adolph Bush, shoulder; J. A. Leiser, arm; Wm. Lehman, back, minie-ball extracted; Jesse Bender, side; Thomas Wolfe, head; Samuel Covert, breast; Joseph Crawford, neck; Abraham Busler, arm; H. Stahl, leg; F. Harris, leg; J. Young, head; J. Logan, hip; J. Levan, hand; David Mann, hand. Missing, Daniel Moyer.

Company H, Captain Keefer. Killed, Private Jacob Dimm, John Berger, Elias Herlocher, Frank Diffenderfer. Wounded, Lieut. De La Green, knee; Sergt. Israel J. Painter, hip, severe; Sergt. James Walton, shoulder; Corporal Wm. Willets, arm broken; S. B. Menges, shoulder broken; Washington Bowman, head and shoulder; Oscar M. Childs, face; Stephen Flick, face; Wilson Gundrum, hand; John Hartzig, shoulder and breast; Benj. Houseknecht, hip, severe; Jonathan Huston, arm; James Mackey, hand; M. Reeser, arm; John Rudman, face; E. F. Rook, arm; Isaac N. Smith, arm; George Stetler, shoulder; Solomon Updegraff, hand. Missing, Frank Dieffenderfer.

Company I, Captain Wilson. Killed, Private Aaron C. Fullmer, Jonathan Fullmer. Wounded, Michael Andrews, hip; Dennis Callahan, thigh, severe; William Kline, arm; S. Grant Moore, chest, serious; David Riggle, shoulder; Richard Stradley, hand; A. Stradley, leg; Henry Stryker, hip; Elias Sechler, shoulder and thigh; Oliver W. Wolf, hip; Sergt. Jno. B. Underhill, foot.

Company K, Captain Wareani. Killed, Thomas A. Postelwaite. Wounded, Capt. Jos. Waream, by shell; Lieut. Grantham T. Waters; Sergt. G. S. Morrison, Sergt. J. W. Kennady, shoulder; Amos T. Bell head; Gabriel Carpenter; Peter Duck, head; Corporal John Hughes, both thighs, minie-ball; Wm. W. Kitting, arm. Missing, J. W. Crawford.

Lieutenant-Colonel Shaut was disabled, from concussion, and left the field, when Major Patton took command. Sergt. Major R. S. Parker is reported with the wounded of Company D, of Lewistown. He was wounded in the calf of the leg and was sent to Washington, where he died January 10th, 1863. He was the young man whom Col. Eli Slifer, secretary of the commonwealth, had recommended so highly for the position. He was a young man of rare ability and of high social standing and was greatly esteemed as a soldier. His death was not expected from the seemingly light flesh wound, and his loss was keenly felt by his comrades.

Captain Ryan, of Company F, was killed on the field by a bullet in the head. He was a citizen of Middleburg, Snyder county, and was a brave and efficient officer, who had made strong friendships. His company was in the thickest of that bayonet charge upon the stone wall, led by General Humphrey and Colonel Allabach, and received the full power of the numerous and concealed enemy, whose position and machinery of death no bravery nor skill could overcome.

Lieut. Wm. Bruner, of Company E, was a citizen of Sunbury, and was a brother of Chas. J. Bruner, late the Revenue Collector of the Fourteenth District. He was severely wounded in the abdomen, and was taken from the field, but died soon afterwards. He was a born soldier, fearless in action, and his loss was deplored by the entire regiment.

Then there is the long list of non-commissioned officers and private soldiers who, here and elsewhere, executed orders and fell at their posts with their guns in their hands. The books do not contain worded eulogies—no books could contain them if they were wirtten by their comrades or friends. They went down in the performance of the loftiest duty to country that men can perform. But they were worthy men to be led by the noble officers who commanded and led them in their duty, and gave their talents and energy in overcoming the enemy, and seal their devotion by their lives when necessary. But a Nation preserved and its grateful benedictions are assured to them all as long as time endures.

The killed and wounded were promptly sought for and borne from the front, but our duty then called all able bodied men into the ranks, and their care was left to those appointed for that duty.

“ With the heroes who sleep on the hillside,
He lies with the flag at his head ;
But blind with the years of their weeping,
The parents yet mourn for their dead.

“ The soldier who falls in the battle
May feel but a moment of pain,
But the dear ones who wait in the homesteads,
Ah ! theirs are the woes that remain.”

TABLE OF LOSSES IN BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG.

1ST BRIGADE. GEN. ERASTUS B. TYLER.	KILLED.		WOUNDED		CAPTURED OR MISSING		TOTAL
	Officers	Men	Officers	Men	Officers	Men	
91st Pennsylvania . .	1	8	3	43	. . .	20	75
126th Pennsylvania . .	1	11	7	59	. . .	14	92
129th Pennsylvania . .	1	16	8	92	. . .	22	139
134th Pennsylvania . .	2	12	10	99	. . .	25	146
Total	5	47	28	293	. . .	81	454
2D BRIGADE. PORTER H. ALLABACH.							
Staff . . . . .	. . .	. . .	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	1
123d Pennsylvania . .	1	14	5	101	. . .	13	134
131st Pennsylvania . .	2	20	6	132	. . .	15	175
133d Pennsylvania . .	3	17	7	138	. . .	19	184
155th Pennsylvania . .	1	5	1	57	. . .	4	68
Total	7	56	20	428	. . .	51	562
Total Division . . .	12	103	51	721	. . .	132	1019
Total 5th Corps . . .	21	185	125	1554	. . .	300	2175

RECAPITULATION—TOTAL CASUALTIES AT FREDERICKSBURG.

	KILLED		WOUNDED		CAPTURED		AGGREGATE
	Officers	Privates	Officers	Privates	Officers	Privates	
Engineers	1	7	3	46	. . .	2	59
Arty. Res . . . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	8	. . .	. . .	8
R. G. Div	62	461	310	3971	1	639	5444
C. G. Div	33	319	186	2315	5	497	3355
L. G. Div	28	373	155	2606	14	611	3787
Total	124	1160	654	8946	20	1749	12653

Total rebel killed, 458 ; wounded, 3743. Total, 4201. Missing not reported.

The regulars were on picket in our front on Saturday night, and in the absence of other means of protection they threw the frozen bodies of dead soldiers before them and kept up their vigils. They also placed dead bodies at exposed places to substitute living pickets who from some other shelter were

guarding the line. There were no earth works or any of the ordinary defensive means of protecting soldiers employed until after the battle of Saturday, when a strong line was formed just on the outside of the city. Dead horses were noticed to be quickly appropriated during the battle, and were found a first-class cover for the men firing. General Humphrey had two horses shot under him and Colonel Allabach had one killed. Very few horses taken to the front escaped, and only a few generals made the attempt to take them there. The battery—Capt. Hazard's, which came up to our rear and made such a noise, lost sixteen horses, and Captain Frank's six. These two batteries were the only ones which went to the front with the charging column in the battle on the right. They belonged to the Second Corps. That was a phase of the battle of which the 131st was a very close witness. The infantry conflict was noisy; but those guns immediately behind us, firing at very close range, together with the front and enfilading guns of the enemy, presented a spectacle rarely equalled in the annals of war. On the day previous Lee visited his lines at this point with General Longstreet. He was assured by the chief of artillery that "he could rake this point as with a fine tooth comb. No chicken could live in front of these guns." That was bragadocia, for our lines got so close to the front of that hill that his guns could not be depressed enough to reach us. The conformation of the ground was such as to afford shelter, even, largely for the infantry, and to these conditions may be attributed the fact that when all our assaulting columns recoiled from the stone walls they did not retire, but in great mass formed a line there and remained all day, except a few regiments broken, or parts of regiments or brigades which became disorganized. It must be remembered, also, that Captain Hazard did not lose a man killed in his battery, and Captain Frank only one. General Newton was one of those most active in hostility to Burnside, but the irony of fate made this same halting general, a few months later, under General Sedgwick, during the Chancellorsville campaign, not only to assault but to carry this same impregnable position and capture the enemy holding it.

All the companies of the regiment performed their duty as unflinchingly as the best veterans on that field. It would be a pleasure to recite the most interesting details known to the comrades, but not now attainable. There was really no opportunity for the exercise of any individual skill or bravery, by the charging column. Men and officers alike simply stood to their work. The enemy, after being driven from the city and

into his defences, did not show themselves again. Very many of our men never got sight of a rebel. They were hidden. The "stone wall" spoken of was a broad road, sunken from four to six feet, upon a line less than a mile long. In this road and behind entrenchments on the hill, just behind the road, were about 5,000 rebels, and these were all of their troops who were engaged, except the artillerymen. As our columns made their attacks by brigades it will be seen they always had more men than we had, and they fought with the best possible protection, and were supported by the batteries all along their line. Our men were put to a test the most severe known to warfare—advancing upon a hidden foe over an open plain.

The rebel officers had little to do, but they looked on with grim satisfaction and welcomed the successive attacks. Our generals could do no more and they obeyed orders perfunctorily and some whined, "give us back our old commander." This was the battle on the right.

Fox, in his "Regimental Losses," has a chapter on "Greatest losses in battles," and cites eighteen regiments sustaining unusually heavy losses at the battle of Fredericksburg among which is included the 131st Pennsylvania. This report was compiled from the losses as reported immediately after the battle, when only 22 men were included in the list; but it was ascertained soon after that nearly twice that number had fallen. The total loss given was: 22 killed and a total of 175 killed and wounded. The missing were mostly found to have been killed.

Age and the weight of excessive service in recent campaigns had almost disabled the great soldier who commanded the right wing, General Sumner. He did not go upon the field and after the battle requested to be relieved. He retired to his home at Syracuse, N. Y., and soon afterward died. General Franklin, who commanded the left, was a great and able soldier, and General Hooker, who commanded the Centre Grand Division, was known as "fighting Joe." Burnside depended much upon these great officers and gave them enlarged commands because he needed their aid in the new and difficult position to which the President assigned him, and for which he frankly and repeatedly disclaimed his own fitness. But his prompt action and vigorous movements were an innovation in the army of the Potomac. Delays and failures had the effect of rendering possible the peculiar condition of things which combined to defeat Burnside. I do not wish to detract one iota from the fame of these gallant soldiers who, as the student of this battle will not fail to discover, by their divisive

contentions permitted the plans of General Burnside to be frittered away. General Franklin and General Hooker did not conceal their disapproval of attacking Lee, and many of the corps and division commanders were no less pronounced in their opposition. General Franklin insisted that his orders were vague and that he could not understand them and that he complied with them as far as possible. The forces which combined to defeat General Burnside were many sided. In addition to the objections of his subordinate generals as to his plan of battle, there were those of inordinate zeal for perferment or promotion, and the jealousies arising therefrom. The want of co-operation with the Pope campaign developed was, in little less marked degrees, shown to Burnside, who had but lately come to the Army of the Potomac.

This battle of Fredericksburg will, therefore, never be written down as one of the decisive battles of the war; but it may assuredly be claimed to have been fruitful of immeasurable good and decisive, in that it was the death knell to that compound of evil which hitherto, like an incubus, hung upon the destiny of the Army of the Potomac and defeated or destroyed the fruits of its victory by inaction or delay. It was not mutiny, nor treason, nor disloyalty, but it was so nearly allied to all of these, and that stood out so bold and ghastly upon the fatal field of Fredericksburg, that all shrunk from its revelation then and there, when the thin veil was torn off, and we never saw its hideous head again.

I have quoted the correspondence with Washington and the orders of General Burnside which preceded this battle. I believe that the plan was tactically the best and that success was possible. Let us look to some other details. The historian, Palfrey, based a severe criticism upon an assumed fact, namely, that Burnside did exactly what his able antagonist wished him to do in crossing at Fredericksburg instead of the upper fords of the Rappahannock. But the reverse of this is easily shown by the most competent of witnesses. In a letter to the Confederate Secretary of War, December 16, 1862, just after the Fredericksburg battle, Gen. Lee wrote: * * * "I think it would be more advantageous to retire to the Annas and give battle there than on the banks of the Rappahannock. My desire was to have done this in the first instance. My purpose was changed not from any advantage in this position, but from an unwillingness to open up more of our country to depredations, also with a view of collecting such forage and provisions as could be obtained in the Rappahannock valley. With the

numerous army opposed to me and the bridges and transportation at his command, the crossing of the Rappahannock, where it is narrow and winding, as it is in the vicinity of Fredericksburg, can be made at almost any point without molestation. It will, therefore, be more advantageous to us to draw him further away from his base of operations."

In February, 1862, Jeff. Davis, President of the Confederacy, together with Gen. Joseph E. Johnson and other notable rebel leaders, visited Fredericksburg with a view to its defence. After a careful examination they deplorably remarked to the Mayor of the city, that, "to them, in a military point of view, Fredericksburg was right in the wrong place." They declared that it was unfavorable for defense for many reasons—the higher northern banks completely commanded the city and the lower hills on the south side, so that a Northern army could occupy it at any time. They then evacuated the city.

Stonewall Jackson urgently opposed going there to meet General Burnside's army, although he believed they could defeat him there or anywhere. He maintained they could not prevent our crossing and then if they defeated us they would not be able to pursue and their victory would be fruitless. They had stronger defensive lines and greater opportunities on the other line.

General Longstreet in his *Century* article, refers to the adverse criticisms made upon Burnside's movement, and says in reply to those who censured him for not occupying Fredericksburg upon his first arrival there, "that it would only have resulted in the adoption of the line preferred by Stonewall Jackson." The friends of General McClellan claimed that he contemplated a movement to meet Lee by the upper fords of the Rappahannock when his army had arrived at Warrenton. There is no evidence upon record to show this; but, if he did, he would have done what General Palfrey in his "Antietam and Fredericksburg" says erroneously of Burnside, that "he did just what the enemy wished him to do." McClellan was peremptorily ordered to move after the battle of Antietam. He believed that Lee was still in force in his front and would assume the offensive, with an army much larger than his. In his correspondence with General Halleck and the authorities at Washington, he opposed pursuit by the more northern line. He said, "I wish to state distinctly that I do not regard the line of the Shenandoah valley as important for ulterior objects. It is important only so long as the enemy remains at Winchester,

and we cannot follow that line far beyond that point—and we must take a new line of operations, based upon water or railroad communications.”

General Hooker became particularly embittered against General Burnside; but when he was placed in command and tried his favorite plan he found Lee and Stonewall Jackson upon their chosen line of defense and they simply toyed with the Army of the Potomac, although Jackson lost his life. Howland, in his “Grant as a Soldier and Statesman,” says: “There was not then, and at no time subsequently, when General Lee did not have a chosen place or stronghold, with a river or a fortified position to repair to whenever attacked by the Army of the Potomac.”

It did not take Grant long to fully comprehend this fact, and to all appeals for some other line his one answer was sufficient, “I will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer.” That meant the shorter line and that Lee’s army must be the objective point of all his efforts, and that we would find that army always in a strong position.

It must be maintained that General Burnside was right in assuming that in a military point of view Fredericksburg, and the shorter line to Richmond was the line upon which to move. It was clearly not the line preferred by his enemy, for the reasons given by the rebel leaders. He was right in assuming finally that he could both cross and recross most favorably at Fredericksburg, because his enemy could not prevent it. He was prevented by no fault of his own from crossing at the time he intended to do so, but he was right in the hope he entertained of finding some weak point on the rebel right, through which he might turn the strong position, for that point was found by General Meade and fairly won by the gallant Pennsylvania Reserves. He was right in the disposition of his army and the orders for the final attack, for there is abundant testimony to show that the strong column which he gave to General Franklin was sufficient to carry and hold the rebel right. Burnside’s feint down the Rappahannock had compelled Lee to send a strong detachment there and those troops had not all returned and had not fortified themselves, even after the unnecessary delay after the crossing.

The Confederate author, Gen. J. H. Moore, says: “A general impression prevails, and it is in a great measure confirmed by writers on Fredericksburg, that Stonewall Jackson’s lines were strongly fortified. This is not correct. We had no

time to fortify. D. H. Hill's Division had been at Port Royal, eighteen miles away." Ewell's Division only arrived on the morning of the 13th.

Nor is it possible to suppose that our attack upon the left and right was not designed to be in support of a general movement to flank the rebel position. Sumner and Franklin and Hooker were in supporting positions, with an open plain before them, upon which they could deploy in almost perfect security, and there was no time during the battle when there was a shadow or probability of a successful advance by the enemy. The impulsive Stonewall Jackson did indeed contemplate and ordered an advance after the repulse of Meade, but the assault was disastrous to the column, resulting in heavy losses in killed, wounded and prisoners, and our advanced line on the left was easily held. After the repulse of our right Jackson again contemplated an assault, as will be seen by an extract from his report of the battle: "The artillery of the enemy was so judiciously posted as to make an advance of our troops across the plain very hazardous, yet it was so promising of good results, if successful, as to induce me to make the attempt. The infantry was to be proceeded by artillery and the movement was postponed until late in the evening so that if compelled to retire it could be done under cover of night. The first gun had hardly moved forward one hundred yards when the enemy's artillery re-opened and so completely swept over our front as to satisfy me that the movement should be abandoned."

The *Compte de Paris*, who was on General McClellan's staff, in his history, is severe in his criticisms of this battle, and upon the proposed advance of the rebel army he seems to think we were only mercifully saved by the approach of night and thus assigns the reason why General Jackson did not annihilate the Union Army. "But seeing night approaching and fearing to be overtaken by darkness, he countermanded his order."

Gen. D. H. Hill, whose division was already put in motion to execute the order for an advance, says: "Toward sundown on the 13th a general advance was ordered, preceded by artillery, but the immediate reply of the Yankee artillery to ours was so rapid and constant that the advance was halted before our column emerged from the woods to view."

The *Compte de Paris* also asserts that the Union position did not allow the use of batteries with the infantry. He says: "The field pieces could not accompany the infantry; they would have been dismounted in an instant." But field pieces did accompany the infantry and they were not dismounted as

was demonstrated by the batteries of Captain Hazard and Captain Frank, who took their batteries in with the charge of the 131st. It is true that comparatively little use was made of our field artillery on the right, but this was owing to the fact that this arm of the service was under the immediate control of subordinate officers.

The battle on the right was a succession of assaults by brigades, upon one point, not accompanied by their batteries; but the exceptional service of Captain Hazard's Battery B, First Rhode Island, and a portion of Captain Frank's First New York Artillery, Company G, served to illustrate that such service was both possible and practicable. The reason the batteries were not used, as well as the fact that there was no supporting use of the army, for that matter, may be easily inferred from the Compté's further criticism in which he declares that "General Burnside had no right to expect more of his lieutenants than their literal execution of his order." The generals with such views and service would never win battles, and there were many of them at Fredericksburg. Their perfunctory obedience to orders was the killing kindness in which we trace the unnamed crime of that fatal field.

The report of the rebel Colonel H. C. Cabell, who was Chief of Artillery of McLaw's Division, discusses from an engineer's point, the relative positions of the Union and rebel armies and affirms that the rebel position was not naturally a strong one, the topography of the locality being such as to favor the northern approach. "The Union artillery on the north side completely commanded the lower hills on the south side." This was known to General Burnside, who had previously occupied the city and was familiar with the ground. This knowledge enabled him to determine to cross the river then and there, instead of the more hazardous crossings below, where opposed, or the more remote upper fords, either of which would have been preferred by both Lee and Jackson, and was most pointedly set forth by President Lincoln's letter to McClellan.

The Army of the Potomac was secure from attack when in and below the city and it was a mistake to retreat to the north side after the repulse, unless upon the ground of the want of diligent, earnest field support by his lieutenants. Colonel Cabell's report also contains the following: "On our right, and shortly below Fredericksburg their whole army could, and a large portion did, deploy on the south side of the river, in almost perfect security from our artillery; at the same time, be-

ing under cover of their artillery, on the Stafford (north) side, they were nearly as secure from an attack by our infantry."

General Burnside had six bridges over the river, affording ample means for communication. The river is narrow but deep, and the rebels having no pontoons could not have pursued us nor reached our artillery. As Stonewall Jackson pointed out, "even if they defeated Burnside the position would not enable them to pursue, and their victory would be fruitless." The entire plain was favorable to Burnside for defense. The rebel right twice attempted a counter attack upon Franklin, and thereby demonstrated by their most skillful officer, with troops believed to be invincible, that it was impossible to successfully assail the Union column, although lying upon the plain and without earthworks or other ordinary means of protection, which should have been provided.

The rebel general, Ransom, who commanded a division on the point of attack by our right, in his report of the battle, says: "Before the town there were not engaged, all told, on our part, more than 5,000 men. It is impossible to estimate exactly the numbers of the enemy who were opposed to us. It is certain that all of Sumner's Grand Division and Hooker's was brought against the position, among them may be especially named the divisions of Hancock and Whipple, the Irish Brigade, and the whole of the Regular Infantry of the old United States Army, the latter under Sykes." (Sykes did not make an assault and this reference is evidently to Humphrey's Division.) No other part of the rebel left was assaulted except the one point, probably not over a half mile in length, and it is probably true that there were not over 5,000 of the enemy engaged behind those stone walls, but our assaults were made by brigades—probably not 5,000 in numbers. The total losses of killed, wounded and missing, on the Union side, were: Killed, officers, 124; privates, 1,160; wounded, officers, 654; privates, 8,946; missing, officers, 20; privates, 1,749; total, 12,653.

On the rebel side were reported, killed, 458; severely wounded, 3,743; missing, not given. General Lee states that in the report of his losses the number of slightly wounded was unusually large and they were omitted in this estimate. It is also reported that the total of the enemy engaged, on the right and left was not over 20,000. The principal losses on our side occurred before the stone wall, on the right, and on the rebel side in the two assaults by Stonewall Jackson on our left, and by Meade's assault. In proportion to the numbers engaged it will be seen the disparity in losses is not great. There were

probably not more than 5,000 of the enemy engaged on our right; and it is probable there were at no time more than that number in our assaulting columns, as they were made successively upon the same ground by brigades. They fought under cover, and our column upon the open plain, subjected to the direct and enfilading batteries of their line from opposite Falmouth to Deep Run.

The following is President Lincoln's address to the Army:
WASHINGTON, DEC. 22, 1862.

To the Army of the Potomac:

I have just read your commanding general's report of the battle of Fredericksburg. Although you were not successful, the attempt was not an error, nor the failure other than an accident. The courage with which you, on an open field, maintained the contest against an entrenched foe, and the consummate skill and success with which you crossed and recrossed the river, in the face of the enemy, show that you possess all the qualities of a great army which will yet give victory to the cause of the country and of popular government.

Condoling with the mourners for the dead and sympathizing with the wounded, I congratulate you that the number of both is comparatively so small.

I tender to you, officers and soldiers, the thanks of the nation.
A. LINCOLN.

When the final history of the war shall be written it will doubtless record as a fact that no more brilliant and successful fighting upon a field of battle was done than that by General Meade's troops on the Union left. Against overwhelming numbers, protecting their own flanks, they went to the rear of Stonewall Jackson's corps, where the general-in-chief wished them to go. It was the key to the stronghold. They held it until their own ammunition, and of their dead also, was exhausted, then, unsupported, after repeated appeals for aid, they hopelessly fell back—hopeless because they saw that more than 100,000 soldiers were in supporting distance and were not brought to their aid.

Neither do the annals of the war record any similar event to that of the successive charges upon the right. The general-in-chief directed the height to be carried. The grand division commander directed how it was to be done—an assault "by division, in columns of brigades." There probably was not a more unequal contest upon any of our great battlefields than that of those brigades who, under the concentrated fire of the

enemy's batteries, were ordered to approach by the flank and then deploy upon an open plain and charge upon an enemy entrenched, stronger in numbers than the assaulting column! And this was repeated without change, by the troops under the division commanders of French, Hancock and Howard, under Couch; Griffin and Humphrey, under Butterfield; Sturgis and Getty, under Wilcox; two or three brigades in each division, upon the same ground, upon the same point in the enemy's line. There was no fault found in the troops, as the generals testify to their matchless service and splendid spirit: but the "accident" of a want of understanding among our commanders must account for the Union repulse at the battle of Fredericksburg.

[Extract from the Mifflinburg Telegraph, Jan. 3, 1896.]

My Dear Captain Orwig's war story puts me in mind of one thing which he is too kind-hearted to tell, and, to pass the time, I may as well tell it, for *it* was the cause of the Union defeat at Fredericksburg. A *joke*, you know, is appreciated by "the boys." Being very young for hard service, the bad weather encountered on the tramp from Sharpsburg, Md., to Fredericksburg, and the consequent heavy luggage tuckered this ere chile out several days' march this side of the city of destruction. The last day I was helped into a mule or ox cart, I don't remember much about it, and how long or how I don't know, but I know I was unloaded in the evening at a big tent in which I laid about a week. Then we, for there were many sick there, were moved a mile nearer to Falmouth. How it was done I don't know, but I was again put in a tent with about twenty others, a number of whom died while I was in. I could not get up, but was conscious all the time there. Heard the battle all through, being only a mile away. All my sorrow was on account of my absence from my command and I cried it over and over. And, do you see the joke now? The battle was lost, perhaps, because I was not there. I had almost run away from home and had dragged my tired carcass within a few miles of the fight and then had to miss it. Boy that I was, I knew that battle, with all its horrors, had to be done and done to the finish if the Union which I so loved was to be restored. Therefore my grief over my inability to get there. You see if I had been there, the result might have been different. I might have died in the effort to make it different, anyhow, but I guess I wasn't worthy to. Emanuel Snyder, my dear messmate, who bought a new suit of clothes just before the battle, and who was so ingloriously shot through the heart when the battle was practically over, also was on a sick pass, just as I was. A day's

march from the city he got ahead of our command clear down to the river, and when he found us again he said there was a bad place down there; the rebs were fortifying and had big guns on the hill. I can't forget his seriousness about the matter. Although he smiled over it he shrugged his shoulders very significantly, poor boy. By and by, after six long weeks, I got onto my feet again, while they still refused to carry me, but, by the kind care of Captain Orwig, Comrade Jacob Hower and others, I came out all right and went through Burnside's "Stick in the Mud" and Chancellorsville without missing a duty. As we approached the river on the march to Chancellorsville my command was halted about thirty minutes, likely to cool off before fording the river. To avoid the risk of getting sick of lying in wet clothes, I pulled off my clothes and tied them on my knapsack and waded through the river, the water being cold and four feet deep. When over I rubbed myself thoroughly and jerked my clothes on, which left me better, rather than worse. Fortunately, the command came over, too. It might have went elsewhere and then there would have been a time. The small boys could not wade the river and many were carried over on the officers' horses and otherwise. But I must not anticipate the captain. But tell us not that those boys were anything but patriots. I don't believe that in our entire company of nearly a hundred, there were six, if any, that were not equally eager to serve effectually. Some even held prayer meetings in which they besought the Lord to enable them to do their duty and to bless our armies. I know, too, that many prayed privately for strength to do their part and for the Lord to prompt the people to stand by the government. Of course, not all companies were alike, but I believe that the same spirit pervaded the mass of the troops. That was about thirty-five years ago, but it is all very real to me now, really more clear to me now we know the reasons and the circumstances. G.

When we returned to our camp we found some confusion, occasioned by the approach of Siegel's Reserve Division, which encamped on the grounds occupied in part by our corps. A slight change was made in the camp of the 131st and we were taken into a thick pine forest, so dense that the regiment could not march by the flank, but a line was marked out and the men stacked arms as best they could; but in an incredibly short time a camp and parade ground had been cleared and better and more cozy quarters were established. In pursuance to the orders of the corps commander, General Butterfield, every precau-

tion was taken to maintain discipline and guard against the enemy, as will be seen by the following order:

HEADQUARTERS FIFTH ARMY CORPS,
December 16, 1862.

Circular: The divisions of this corps will encamp on or near their old camps.

General Griffin and General Humphrey's Divisions will encamp in the woods slightly in the rear of the old positions using their old grounds to enlarge their camps.

Inspections will be made at once and all men charged with arms and equipments abandoned or lost without proper permission.

The necessary steps will be taken to fill all deficiencies in supplies, equipments, etc.

Full and accurate returns will be sent in at once covering all losses and returns of those present for duty.

The picket lines will be re-established as at our previous camp.

General Griffin will detail 1,000 men, with a proper complement of officers additional, to take the ground to-night, to be relieved to-morrow.

Colonel Barnes will act as general of our posts and report at these headquarters for orders.

Headquarters will be at the Henry house. General Siegel's cavalry are at Hartwood and his forces between Falmouth and Stafford Court House.

By command of

BRIGADIER GENERAL BUTTERFIELD.

(Signed) H. W. PERKINS, A. A. A. Gen.

Before we left this camp that dense forest was cleared away, only such trees being preserved as were retained for ornamental purposes about headquarters of officers, hospitals, etc. At first the choppers were exceedingly extravagant, then they began to cut off stumps and finally the roots were eagerly dug out for fuel, and later teams and details were sent out for miles to gather the necessary fuel for the camps. I visited those grounds twenty years later, when they were so thickly wooded again that it was with difficulty we could trace the location, and some parts of it had been cut and piled for cord wood.

Lieut. Robert H. Maxwell, of Company H, who had been ill in camp for some time, died at the hospital, near Falmouth, on the 11th of December, just as his comrades were going into the battle. The circumstances made the death of this gallant

young officer exceptionally sad. But the monster disease claimed its victim just before his comrades, in the flush of health and young manhood, gave up their lives in the thick of the battle with their faces to the foe; and when none of his comrades could be present to solace his last hours.

Some of the soldiers were not given to letter writing, as numerous inquiries indicated by the parents and friends at home, who wrote anxiously to know of the safety of their sons, or friends. A notable instance of this was the visit to Company A of Miss Sallie Ruhl, an estimable young lady from the vicinity of Ray's Church, near Mifflinburg, Pa., to our camp, after the battle of Fredericksburg. She was the devoted sister of Private Valentine Ruhl. He had nobly performed his duty in the stirring events of the active campaigns of the new commander of the army, but after the battle forgot to write to his friends at home. Rumors of his having been killed or wounded were circulated and the aged parents and his affectionate sister were in great distress. She would go to find him! Few citizens were permitted to visit the army from the North when actively engaged in campaigns, but this brave and fearless young lady undertook the perilous journey unattended and succeeded. She received passes at Washington and after leaving that point was almost the only lady to be found in that great, and sometimes rough and boisterous throng of army officers and men who thronged the trains and transports, to and from the front down on the old Virginia battlefields. She reached our camp safely, and to the credit of those sometimes rough soldiers, without incident or disagreeable adventure. She found her brother unharmed and blissfully ignorant of the unnecessary anxiety he had caused by his negligence. We gave her and the brother a tent attached to our headquarters, and every one seemed to show such courteous and pleasing attention and upon all occasions such respectful consideration that the otherwise embarrassing circumstances were overcome and she was made to feel at home and get inexpressible pleasure and satisfaction out of her hazardous journey to the army. Company A was the envied centre of the social circle and events of the 131st. Our "calls" and "teas" and "cards" and "wines" in the wealth of their pleasures, were just as real, and the eventful times and surroundings conspired to make them unique and altogether most rare and pleasurable innovations, in striking contrast to the more pretentious social events in our cities and towns at home. She was gallantly escorted to the picket lines, to the river to see the city and rebels in their camp beyond; she wit-

nessed the drilling of regiments, brigades and divisions; she was shown a grand review of the army, the hospitals and the camps of the men, and she expressed her fearlessness and enjoyment of it all as only a brave and patriotic young Union county lady could. She was among the few who had such an experience, and it served her well in the future, in her zeal and devotion to our cause in every good work at home in aid and support of the boys whom she knew were not only brave, but tender and devoted and unforgetful of the loved ones at home. In this good work she was most zealous and untiring, as were all the ladies of good old Union county.

Later on we were honored by visits from many other citizens of Union county, among whom were William Whitmer, Mark Halfpenny and John Diehl. We recall an interesting ride in an ambulance with Captain Hassenplug, Major W. R. Foster and others of the Fifty-first who accompanied some of these friends to the front lines. There was a little conspiracy entered into to test the nerves of some of the non-combatant visitors, and the driver was directed to a bluff on the river which looked square into a rebel camp and their strong picket line by the water's edge. Seemingly unconscious of the presence of an enemy we left the carriage and took the party out in full view of the rebels. Captain Hassenplug's commanding figure and his full dress uniform made him a very conspicuous object, and he got quite boisterous in his zeal in denouncing the wicked war against "old glory" and the rascally Johnnies and their friends. Judge Whitmer was observed to be falling just a little behind, and kept a puzzling look at the mouths of the somewhat angry looking batteries and a lot of ragged looking fellows with guns in their hands not far off. He whispered something to the captain, who, more violently than ever, kept pouring out his wrath and told him, "Yes, they are rebels," and fairly yelled his defiance of them and their guns, when the judge began to beg that as "they could see that he was an officer they might shoot!" The captain was as gleeful as a kitten and enjoyed the ruse, but he was too considerate to go farther, and every attention was shown our guests, to whose fortitude and heroism upon the front lines the party will ever most cheerfully attest.

The locality we were then visiting had other than army associations of interest to the visitors, and is rich in landmarks and traditions, colonial and revolutionary. Falmouth, now only a hamlet, was once a thriving town and its merchants furnished exchange on England to Baltimore, and the "stamp

act" gathered large returns from the rich business men of the vicinity. Capt. John Smith, in 1608, ascended the river to the falls just above where we took a look at the rebels, and found a "wigwam" of the native Rappahannocks. The old city was visited by Dickens, who in his "American Notes," called it a "finished town." It was laid out in 1727 and named after Frederick, son of George I. George Washington's early life was spent here. The home of his father and mother was a little farther down, on our side of the river, below the burned railroad bridge. It was here the parson fiddler and biographer, Weems, located the exploits of little George—the hatchet and cherry tree story, and his school days and other wondrous experiences. By the way, it was Weems' "Life of Washington" which was the first book ever owned by the other great President of his country—Abraham Lincoln. No doubt his heart was fired to a loftier manhood by the recital of the heroic deeds and youthful exploits of the father of his country. The heights beyond could be seen where the battle was fought, and on the plain the locality of the unfinished Mary Washington monument. The members of the 131st will remember having been there during the battle, and many visited the little cemetery. It was all scarred by bullets and the marks of long neglect and decay. The monument was originally proposed by the citizens of Fredericksburg, but they failed to secure the means to complete it. A New York merchant, Silas E. Barrass, then volunteered to complete it and proceeded as far as we found it, when he also failed and it was unfinished. It cost \$10,000 and was made of uncarved Carara marble blocks enclosing a "filler" of cemented granite stones. It was twelve feet square at the base, and ten feet at the top, with tablets for inscriptions, which were never placed upon them. Above these tablets small fluted columns, two on each side, extended to the top. The height was twenty-five feet. A shaft twenty feet long and four feet at the base, lay half embedded a few yards away. When the corner stone was laid, with imposing ceremonies, in 1832, President Jackson was there with an old-time military display. After the war the monument was completed by an appropriation from Congress.

Lodge No. 4 of the Masonic fraternity, of Fredericksburg, is famous. It was organized in 1735 and the same Bible is still in use which served on that occasion. This lodge appropriated and secured the sum of \$5,000 and engaged the celebrated sculptor, Hiram Powers, to execute a statue of Washington. It was duly completed at Florence and arrived just as the war for disunion was entered upon, when it was sent to Richmond for safety and was there destroyed by fire.

Marye's Heights is now the beautiful National Cemetery, where the dead of the Union soldiers who fell in the battle, as well as in the battles of Chancellorsville, the Wilderness and Spottsylvania, and throughout the vicinity, are gathered, numbering 15,257, of these 2,487 are known and 12,770 sleep in these beautiful and well-cared-for grounds "unknown."

It will be interesting to remember that the Bell and Everett Presidential ticket was successful in Fredericksburg in 1860. At the State election for a convention the Unionists were in the majority and their delegate was the Hon. John L. Marye, Sr. But when the State seceded the great bulk of the people became the most ardent and devoted followers of the "bad cause." There, as elsewhere throughout the south, they became intolerant, and no Union man nor woman was permitted to live peaceably among them. The flight of the non-combatants from the city in December, 1862, has been depicted as among the most touching war incidents, and their passage through the snow, through and beyond the lines of Lee's army, was used to "fire the southern heart" during the battle. But even more touching than this was the exodus of the Union families who were driven from their homes in 1861, when, on a given day, they were compelled to leave the city for the North, for the crime of being loyal to the old flag.

Moncure D. Conway contributed an article to the *Magazine of American History*, Volume 17, although tainted with a bitterness against General Burnside, is an interesting collection of the materials of history. Referring to the ground upon which the right wing of the army fought, he says: "Between his army and Marye's Heights there is "Sandy bottom," an ancient river bed, where is located "Liberty," the suburb of free negroes, a place more suitable than any engineering could have contrived for the grave of an army. Into that grave his soldiers were falling for eight hours. Five times they were beaten back; five times they rallied. At last the heaviest column of assault was organized by General Butterfield, headed by General Humphrey's Division, and it was overwhelmed within sixty paces of the volcano's mouth of flame."

This author may have thought the free negro suburb a fitting place for the grave of the Union army, but I quote it as a sample of the current stories of the battle. I visited this "suburb" in 1883, twenty years after the battle, then largely a burial place for negroes—all free. It was a revolting spectacle. A citizen was with me, who, in reply to my inquiries, said that it was true that the graves to which I had called his attention

had evidently been opened by dogs and the bodies devoured. A little further up was the little cemetery where rested the remains of Mary, the mother of Washington, and a little beyond, on the other side, on Marye's Heights, was the National necropolis. Mr. Conway might have given another point to the moral if he had added that one was a distinctively Fredericksburg product and the two others were not.

I also visited the city and traced the lines of our battle on the right. Little change had taken place in the older portions of the city, but other localities showed great improvement. I stood upon the bridge at Hanover street, from which the planks had been removed, and our troops crossed on the ties. The enemy's guns played upon that point from many batteries on the heights, and our solid columns were torn by their shells. I searched for the spot where we buried Snyder, but failed to find any trace of graves there. Of course all these had been gathered into the National cemetery. I looked over the line of the ravine extending towards the railroad station, where nearly all the attacking columns deployed to charge upon the stone walls. A few new streets had been opened through the battlefield and a few new houses erected, but all else appeared just as it was twenty years ago, except that the armies were absent. A resident in one of the clump of houses, which were occupied by Hancock's troops, pointed out many events of the battle. His family had remained during the battle, and were uninjured. His house still bore many marks of the storm of battle. He was a typical unreconstructed rebel, and significantly summed up all his woes with the remark: "And it was all only for the — nigger!"

General Allabach paced off the distance from the point which he claimed his troops had reached, to the road or "stone wall" and declared we had approached to within twenty paces of the wall upon our last charge. We passed over the walls and ascended the heights to the Marye house and looked down upon the ground over which our assaults had been made. I was struck with the then apparent strength of the point against which all our strength was spent, as well as the apparent opportunity for flanking the telegraph road, which at this point was the sunken road, or stone wall, mentioned in all the accounts of the battle. In the rear of this first line was favorable ground for battle, and I was more than ever convinced that General Burnside had wisely chosen this point of attack, but that the battle, as fought, was in no sense what he had contemplated, but grew out of a want of a common purpose by his officers. I

noticed that the batteries of Captains Hazard and Frank, which were taken up with General Humphrey's assault, could have as safely been taken in several hundred yards further up, and then they would have been in a position to enfilade the stone walls. It seemed to me that if they had been there Humphrey's Division would have carried the heights, and the Second and Ninth corps lying upon their arms, and all their batteries behind them, they could have held the line against all the assaults Lee could have made. And Franklin's left was in a splendid position to fall on and seal the victory. General Longstreet, in his *Century* articles, says: "It would have been, to say the least, very hazardous to give a counter attack, the Federal position being about as strong as ours. * * * Their batteries on Stafford heights were effectively posted to protect their troops against our advance, and Franklin would have been in good position against attack on next day."

One standing at General Lee's headquarters, on Lee's Hill, can readily see why the rebel army did not attempt to fall upon the Union army. It was the only position Lee could hope to maintain. If compelled to relinquish it, retreat to one of his fortified fields further south was the only alternative. Lee therefore wisely reserved all his strength to hold his position. He did not know that Burnside had really made his main attack, and he confidently expected it to be made next day. This is the true reason why he did not at any time permit his troops to emerge from their fortified lines. This view he expresses in his report of the battle, as will be seen from the following extract:

"The attacks on the 13th had been so easily repulsed, and by so small a part of our army (20,000 engaged), which, in view of the magnitude of his preparations and the extent of his forces, seemed to be comparatively insignificant. Believing, therefore, that he would attack us, it was not deemed expedient to lose the advantage of our position and expose the troops to the fire of his inaccessible batteries beyond the river, by advancing against him."

The distinguished correspondent, Albert D. Richardson, of the *New York Tribune*, paid this tribute to the soldiers of the Army of the Potomac, after they returned to their camp:

"The general tone of the army is good; far better than might be expected. There is regret for the failure, sympathy for the wounded, mourning for our honored dead, but I find little discouragement and no demoralization. This is largely owing to the splendid conduct of our troops, and the men are hope-

ful because there are few of the jealousies and heart burnings among them. The concurrence of testimony is universal, that our men in every trial did better than ever before, and made good their claim to being the best troops in the world. We have had victories without merit, for this was a defeat without dishonor. In many respects—in all respects but the failure of its vital object—the battle of Fredericksburg was the finest thing of the war. Laying the bridges, pushing the army across, withdrawing it successfully, all were splendidly done, and redound alike to the skill of the general and the heroism of the troops." The men who crossed the river in open boats, under the merciless storm of bullets and shell, rained upon them by a hidden foe; Meade's men, who steadily forged their way through the lines of Stonewall Jackson's Corps, through a path of murderous batteries and volcanoes of fire and lead from veteran infantry columns, and found the envied point—the road in Lee's rear; the successive assaults on Marye's Heights, where brigade after brigade, under the most trying conditions known in warfare, charged upon a more numerous and entrenched foe, and under the concentric fire of the guns of the Army of Northern Virginia, all these were as valorous deeds as ever lit up the story of "the glory we call Greece and the grandeur we call Rome."

In his *Life of Lincoln*, Isaac N. Arnold made the President say: "With all his failings as a soldier, McClellan is a pleasant and scholarly gentleman. He is an admirable engineer, but he seems to have a special talent for a stationary engine."

General Burnside, during his brief command, exhibited the exact opposite to this characteristic. He believed that the Army of the Potomac should be utilized and a continuous and aggressive war made upon Lee and his army, and the rebel capital was his objective point. Thus, by a continued attrition, the armies of the Confederacy would be worn out, and in the end it would be an economy in life and treasure. President Lincoln and the War Department took this view, and General Burnside seemed to act upon the theory.

THE WAR OF OUR GENERALS.

The return of the army to its old camps was followed by an unrelenting warfare upon its commander, which extended throughout the country, and had a depressing effect. The enemies of the administration and of Congress were stimulated to the greatest activity, and the opponents of the war made

themselves bold to discourage enlistments and resist the drafting. Their influence reached to the army and desertions were encouraged and discontent was fomented. To this the severity of the season contributed and the active services had largely increased sickness, so that the most discouraging conditions were confronting the zealous and enthusiastic commander. Every effort was put forth to offset all these discouragements. The soldiers were kept busy in all the duties of the camp, and drilling, picketing and inspections were multiplied with good effect. The enemies of the general were busy not only in plotting against him but in magnifying the evils and demoralization which existed, for the evident purpose of his discomfort.

Thanksgiving day had found the army in battle array for a campaign. Now the expectations of our Christmas were extremely likely to be interrupted by a renewal of that struggle, and the notes of preparation went on. The sick from the hospitals who had recovered were returned to the army. No furloughs were granted and the expectation was becoming general that a new movement was about to be inaugurated.

The friends at home were mindful of their boys in blue and boxes in endless variety and in astonishing numbers were sent, but the inexorable demands and necessities of the expected renewal of active hostilities almost entirely excluded visitors and appropriated all the means of transportation, so that thousands of those boxes, so kindly provided, were long delayed, and many of them had to be destroyed. I remember seeing a pile of them, seemingly long and high as a freight train, all destroyed by fire. It was impossible to deliver them. Officers in charge hastily examined them, assorted the non-perishable and forwarded such and committed the rest to the flames, as the most practical disposal of the noxious pile.

The members of Company A, and others of the regiment, however, were the happy recipients of several large boxes containing a great variety of gifts, but mainly choice edibles, including a plentiful supply of turkey. Our official household was not forgotten and the spread of that day, and the joyous occasion, will probably not fade from the memory of any one present, and the official household did not forget all the members of the company.

The weather, thus far, had been favorable to active campaigning and rumors began to spread of an advance.

It transpired that General Burnside had planned another immediate advance on Richmond, the army to move on December 30. The plan was to make a feint above Fredericksburg, but the army to cross below and turn the rebel stronghold by a flank movement, while all the cavalry would endeavor to reach his rear by a raid from Kelly's ford.

This second plan had scarcely been perfected when it was discovered that all its details had been made known to the rebels, and it was abandoned.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE "MUDDY MARCH."

A THIRD effort was now determined upon, with every pose to cross the Rappahannock at Banks' ford and precaution against betrayal. General Burnside proposed the United States ford, about six miles above Falmouth, and thus compel the evacuation of Fredericksburg and force Lee to battle upon the open country lying south of Chancellorsville. The army was put in motion and the crossing of the river was to take place on the night of January 20. This was the "muddy march." The men were eager for the contest and did not share, to any great extent, in the discontent among the officers. But the army had scarcely been put in motion when a cold and pitiless rain storm set in and literally swamped the moving columns in a sea of mud. Artillery and army wagons could scarcely be moved. The cavalry floundered in the bottomless fields and the infantry waded in mud and water knee deep, and the endless splash, splash, as we marched, fell like the rain upon the just and the unjust, until all were covered from head to foot, like the horses and wagons, with a thick coat of Virginia mud. The advance columns had promptly reached the places assigned them, where they awaited the coming of the main army. But the main army did not come. It was stuck in the mud. I well remember the night we reached our place in the line. It was in a dense woods, and the rain continued. The order to halt was literally obeyed. Everything and everybody just stopped. No line could be found to stack arms. No fires were to be lighted, and no coffee could be prepared. Trees and all the most available spots were at once appropriated for such rest and sleep as could be forced from such surroundings.

Lieutenants Kepler and Fichthorn prepared our blankets; we rolled them about us, placing a rubber over us, and were soon asleep. What was a steady cold rain now became a veritable downpour, and our sweet slumbers were ruthlessly interrupted. It appears our bodies dammed the water and Fichthorn, who was on the upper side, found it falling in all over him, when he suddenly cried out, "Captain, give me your hand"—at the same time taking it and thrusting it in the water. It was a rude awakening and I thought of Lee's cavalry and Stonewall Jackson's flankers, but soon realized what was the situation, and we got out of that; our blankets now so wet and muddy that to carry them

was out of the question, so we left that bed and board, you will agree, having just cause and provocation. There was Egyptian darkness; one could not see a hand before his face. We backed up against trees, hoping for some shelter, but all sheltering trees were occupied. We groped about to find a wagon, which happy thought encouraged us until we stumbled about among a lot of picketed horses, as distressed as we were, and stood so still we could not know of their presence until we ran against them. We found wagons—but the boys who did not try to sleep had not left standing room. We became separated and I finally hung my head inward, under the scoop of a wagon cover, standing upon the tongue or pole of the wagon, where the proverbial wisdom of the ostrich and the sheep that are content with shelter for the head, seemed to command such wisdom and respectful consideration that had never before suggested itself. It was an awful night. The next day we floundered about in the mud. The rebels on the other side discovered our advanced positions, and the utter impossibility for a move upon either side, put them upon good terms. The rebels got up an enormous sign and put it up in full view of our pickets, bearing this inscription, "Stuck in the mud." But the Army of the Potomac proved its invincible spirit, which no disaster could destroy. They were ready to respond to every call, and the earnestness and courage of General Burnside was winning the utmost good will of the army. It was better to try and fail, than to waste their lives and strength in inglorious inaction.

But our commander seemed to be as ill-starred as was the Army of the Potomac. He received an order from the President directing him not to make another attack without his orders. The army was therefore directed to return to its recent camp, and it slowly, dejectedly, emerged from the mire and was soon in its normal condition in the cozy quarters of the camp about Fredericksburg. And the "Muddy March" went upon the pages of history.

GEN. BURNSIDE RESIGNS, AND GEN. HOOKER IS APPOINTED.

It transpired that a number of officers, some of them of high rank, had been fomenting discord and had made clandestine reports to the President and Secretary of War at Washington. Generals Franklin and W. F. Smith, without the knowledge of General Burnside, went to Washington and presented a joint letter to the President, expressing the belief that General Burnside's plan of campaign could not succeed, and recommended, substantially, that this line should be abandoned and the army be again sent to the James river. The President

replied that they were only suggesting a plan fraught with the "old difficulty," but it was in view of the want of harmony that he had called a halt upon the army. To General Franklin he stated that his action was a matter of astonishment, as he had previously distinctly advised bringing the army away from the Peninsula, under McClellan.

General Burnside now made a hurried trip to Washington. It was plain that those divisive and disgraceful quarrels could not longer be permitted. The President again must act between his warring generals. He chose to consider his imperilled country alone. General Burnside had prepared an order naming Generals Hooker, Brooks (not Brooke), and Newton for ignominious dismissal, and Generals Franklin, W. F. Smith, Cochran and Ferrero, and Lieut. Col. J. W. Taylor, were to be relieved from duty in the Army of the Potomac. The name of General Ferrero was withdrawn, as General Burnside stated it had been placed there under a misapprehension. It was another grave emergency not unlike that which confronted the President when McClellan's and Pope's armies met at Washington. There was no doubt of the right to issue the order by General Burnside, but the President was bound to use the means at hand to carry on the war and refused to be a party to either side of petty quarrels. He said as much to General Burnside, whose action, in the main, he warmly commended, but he did not wish to dispense with the services of the men who, however much mistaken, were still patriotic and were willing to serve their country, which needed their services. He would not listen to General Burnside's offer to resign, for the same reason, but, on the 26th of January, gave him a separate command, placed Hooker in command of the Army of the Potomac and relieved Generals Franklin and Sumner (the latter at his own request).

The patriotism and soldierly qualities of General Burnside were put to a most severe test, but he proved himself equal to the ordeal and submitted to the will of the President. General Hooker was appointed because he was the senior general officer, to whom the the President addressed the following somewhat equivocal, but significant letter:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 26, 1863.

MAJ. GEN. HOOKER:

General: I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course, I have done this upon what appears to me to be sufficient reasons, and yet I think it best for you to

know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skillful soldier, which, of course, I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable, if not an indispensable, quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm; but I think that during General Burnside's command of the army, you have taken counsel of your own ambition, and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the government needed a dictator. Of course, it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain success can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done, or will do, for all commanders. I much fear that the spirit you have aided to infuse in the army, of criticising their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you as far as I can to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it.

And now beware of rashness. Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

Then General Burnside's brief command, from November 9 to January 26, 1863, came to an end. "There is no argument for the soldier but success; no wisdom for the man but to acknowledge defeat and be silent under it."

The Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War made a thorough investigation into the campaigns of General Burnside, and more especially in the battle of Fredericksburg. The testimony of many officers was taken, including those most directly interested, including the grand division commanders, Generals Sumner, Hooker and Franklin. To the inquiry—"In your judgment, as a military man, were there any mistakes in bringing on or conducting the attack upon Fredericksburg," General Sumner replied—"I think not. The general commanding conferred a great deal with me about it. If he made a mistake, I made one, too, for I certainly approved the steps, one by one, that he took." General Hooker testified that in his



CAPT. T. R. JONES,
COMMANDING COMPANY C.

opinion there were enough troops on the left to have succeeded. He said: "It has always been my impression that Franklin, with his men and my grand division, could have swept everything before him." To the inquiry concerning the army and the efficiency of the men, he said: "I made an attack and such an attack as I believe had never been made in this war. The head of General Humphrey's column advanced to within perhaps fifteen or twenty yards of the stone wall. There never was anything more glorious than the behaviour of the men. No campaign in the world ever saw a more gallant advance than Humphrey's men made there."

General Franklin conditioned his approval upon our success in crossing, for he thought the enemy could prevent it. In reply to the inquiry, "What is the condition of the army as to efficiency?" he replied, "I think it is not demoralized at all. As far as my command is concerned, I know it is not." General Hunt, chief of artillery, testified, "My opinion was that if we could attack and break the enemy's line on our left, everything above that would be compromised and put in danger, and it would result in clearing out the whole of their works at once." "You think it would have proved a success?" "Without a doubt,—complete success on our part." General Birney said, "In my opinion there were sufficient troops on the left, under General Franklin, to have carried the whole crest of hills in our front."

General Reynolds said: "If it (the crest of the hill,) had been taken and held it would have compelled the enemy to fall back."

General Franklin, in regard to his orders, said he did not understand the general attack was to be made and that he did not understand it to be an order, but a request, to put in his whole command in the afternoon, and that he did not do so, because he believed it to be too late then.

General Meade testified: "My division succeeded in driving the enemy from all his advanced works, breaking through his lines, and occupying the heights, piercing his lines entirely, and getting into the presence of his reserves. The division on my right (Gibbon) which I had understood was to have advanced simultaneously with my own, did not advance until I was driven back. That delay enabled the enemy to concentrate his forces, and attack me in front and upon both flanks. I had penetrated so far that I had no support on either flank, and was forced to fall back; as I came out General Gibbon's forces advanced, and got so far, probably, as the railroad, which was

the enemy's outer line. I think if we had been supported by an advance of the whole line, there is every reason to believe we would have held our ground. The effect of this would have been to have produced the evacuation of the other line of the enemy's works in rear of Fredericksburg."

A number of officers testified that if all the available command had been put in the attack would have been successful, and that the operations of our right depended, to a very great extent, upon the successful operations of the left.

The committee made the following report:

"The testimony of all the witnesses before your committee proves most conclusively that, had the attack been made upon the left, with all the force which General Franklin could have used for that purpose, the plan of General Burnside would have been completely successful, and our army would have achieved a most brilliant victory."

A vote of censure was passed upon General Franklin by the committee.

It is to the credit of all the officers concerned that in other fields they continued their services. That they were brave, zealous and meritorious, whatever their shortcomings, and deserved well of their countrymen, on many battlefields of the war, is established by the most ample and competent testimony.

Before his departure from the army General Burnside very cordially recommended General Humphrey to be a major general, for meritorious services in the battle of Fredericksburg. His retirement was very generally regretted and in an earnest, short address he took leave of the army and was appointed to a separate command, which he maintained with great credit to the end of the war.

General Sumner was given a command in the West, with headquarters at St. Louis, but his sudden death took place at his home in Syracuse before he entered upon his new field. Gen. W. F. Smith subsequently commanded the Eighteenth, and General Franklin the Nineteenth Army Corps. The President's course was thus demonstrated to have been wise and politic, and we never were subjected to the same humiliation again.

GENERAL HOOKER IN COMMAND.

The army received their new chief enthusiastically. General Hooker was known familiarly as "Fighting Joe." He had been with the Army of the Potomac under McClellan from the beginning, which went far to appease the peculiar element

which had evinced such bitterness against Pope, who was from the Western Army, and Burnside, from the North Carolina Department. It was now understood that the army would remain in winter quarters; fresh rations of bread and meat were issued; furlough were freely granted to officers and men and an era of good feeling followed the heartless and cruel bickerings and divisive strifes of the recent campaigns. The cavalry arm of the service was more freely organized and largely increased. The grand divisions of Burnside were abolished and the army was divided into seven infantry corps. The season of preparation was continued throughout the winter, when the Army of the Potomac was in a condition to inspire the highest expectations.

General Meade had been appointed to the command of the Fifth Corps, by General Burnside, in recognition of his distinguished services at Fredericksburg, and General Butterfield became the chief of staff to General Hooker.

On retiring from our corps, General Butterfield issued the following very complimentary order :

"By the orders of the major general commanding the Army of the Potomac, Major General Meade is placed in command of the Fifth Army Corps. Duty, not less than inclination, prompts the sincere and heartfelt acknowledgement of the devotion to duty, the cheerful obedience to orders, and the kindly spirit which has been evinced by the division and subordinate commanders of this corps during the time it has been under my command. Words fail to express my proper appreciation of the unparalleled bravery and soldierly qualities exhibited during the battle of Fredericksburg, and the operations connected therewith."

General Humphrey also expressed himself in strong terms of commendation of the conduct of the officers and men of his division. One evening, after the usual dress parade, he invited all the officers of the 131st Regiment to his headquarters. On our arrival there, we were all in line according to our companies in the regiment, when he began at the head of the line by taking my hand and, addressing himself to all the officers, said that he had called us to come to him to enable him to take by the hand and to express, personally, to each one, his obligations and extend his thanks and most earnest congratulations for the faithful, fearless and efficient services which they had rendered, not only to him and the division, but to the country, upon the field at Fredericksburg. He then passed along the

line and took the hand of each one, after which an hour was spent in very pleasant social intercourse at division headquarters.

Many of the commanding officers of the regiments of the division made mention of a number of the line officers for distinguished services in that battle. But General Humphrey and Colonel Allabach, who commanded the Second Brigade, were with the right of the column and therefore the 131st Regiment was under their personal observation most of the time. Colonel Allabach, in his report of the battle assigned this reason for saying very little about the movements of his brigade, and Colonel Shaut, who was early disabled, made only a very brief report, and when his attention having been called to his omission to mention the services of any of his officers, replied that he could not discriminate, except to mention Lieut. Wm. H. Wolfe, of Company E, who gallantly commanded his company after the captain had been wounded and the first lieutenant was killed.

Our season of camp life was, in many respects, little short of a continuous campaign against the vigilant enemy on the other side of the river, and in the valley. Our picket lines, probably, were made up of a stronger force than General Washington usually had at his command when he fought our battles in the Revolution, or that Scott and Taylor had when wrestling with Mexico for the acquisition of Texas. The troops in camp were required to drill for four hours each day; large fatigue details were daily employed in road making and the various sanitary and police regulations, which were maintained in excellent order.

Stoneman's Station was during this period our nearest railroad station, which, to that portion of the army, rose to the dignity and importance of the position which the town maintains to the country. It was a busy railroad running from Aquia Creek and Belle Plain to the army, a military road distributing troops and supplies from our base of operations.

The vacancies, occasioned by the death and resignation of a number of officers of the regiment, were filled, as requested by Colonel Allabach; except in such instances where irregular promotions were recommended:

JANUARY 3, 1863.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, A. G. CURTIN, Governor of Pennsylvania.

Sir: I would most respectfully ask that the following promotions be made in my regiment to fill vacancies caused by

death and resignations (companies named according to State roster) :

Sergeant Owen M. Fowler, of Company C, to be first lieutenant, in place of Joseph L. Reeder, resigned, commission to date from November 29, 1862.

Second Lieut. William H. Wolfe, Company E, to be first lieutenant, in place of First Lieut. William A. Bruner, killed in action, commission to date from December 13, 1862.

First Sergt. Lee M. Morton, Company E, to be second lieutenant, in place of Second Lieut. Wm. H. Wolfe, promoted, commission to date from December 13, 1862.

First Sergt. Franklin W. Keller, of Company F, to be captain of said company, in place of Capt. G. W. Ryan, killed in action, commission to date from December 13, 1862.

Sergt. Martin L. Wagenseller, of Company F, to be second lieutenant, in place of Second Lieut. Jeremiah Snyder, resigned, commission to date from December 13, 1862.

Second Lieut. De La Green, of Company H, to be first lieutenant, in place of R. S. Maxwell, deceased, commission to date from December 11, 1862.

First Sergt. William H. Shoemaker, Company H, to be second lieutenant, in place of De La Green, promoted, commission to date from December 11, 1862.

In the cases where I have asked that sergeants be promoted over lieutenants, I would respectfully make the following statement :

I have done so only where it was absolutely necessary to the efficiency of the company, the sergeants being much better officers.

In the case of Sergeant Keller I would say that he is a gallant soldier and is now absent wounded. He is deserving of the position. These cases, I think, come under your General Order No. 17. I would therefore respectfully ask that the appointments be made and commissions sent as early as practicable.

Although commanding the brigade, the appointments as asked for the lieutenant-colonel made out at my request.

I am, sir, very respectfully your obedient servant,

P. H. ALLABACH,

Colonel 131st Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers,
Commanding Brigade.

It is needless to say the officers, and their friends, who were thus discriminated against bitterly resented the implication, and there was much ill feeling aroused. The adjutant general of Pennsylvania, however, was instructed to issue commissions to the regular successors, and General Thomas, in a kind letter, pointed out the manifest injustice of any other course, as other remedies were provided for in cases of alleged inefficiency.

Notwithstanding the directions of the Governor, one or two instances of irregular promotions were effected and left resentments which were not forgotten.

George W. Moyer, who joined the company after its organization at Harrisburg, and was appointed commissary sergeant, made application for discharge on account of disability and his application was approved by General Porter, to date from October 25.

On the 1st of January, 1863, President Lincoln issued the proclamation freeing the slaves, as announced just after the battle of Antietam, and pledged the full power of the government to maintain their freedom. Thus was consummated the greatest event of the war. It is a comforting reflection to remember that we were in the Army of the Republic on that historic day, and factors in its achievement. All the enemies, and a few friends of our country were embittered against this act, and it was made the occasion for "firing the southern heart" in their efforts to disrupt the government. General Lee was moved to join this "hue and cry," and in a letter to the rebel secretary of war, James A. Seddon, on the 10th of January, wrote:

"In view of the vast increase of the enemy, of the savage and brutal policy he has proclaimed, which leaves us no alternative but success or degradation worse than death, if we would save the honor of our families from pollution, our social system from destruction, let every effort be made, every means employed to fill and maintain the ranks of our armies."

To do this, "they robbed alike the cradle and the grave."

The crimes committed against the loyal negroes, and our soldiers found fighting with them, by the rebel soldiers and authorities, in their mad support of a "Confederacy," with human slavery for its "corner stone," will forever remain as the darkest blot upon the pages of our history.

“Charley” was our colored servant. He came to us when near Washington. He had been a slave, and, whilst he was fearless of personal danger arising from his connection with the army, he had a fearful dread of capture, which he associated with a life of torture. He was a very faithful caterer. When no purchases could be made the official household of Company A were never allowed to suffer, if Charley was around, for he was also a most successful forager. When we went to Chancellorsville we lost him. He had made a narrow escape from capture, when three rebels overtook him just after he had captured a calf, but his tact and diplomacy served him well, and by dividing three quarters of the veal and giving a little direction to the three rebels, who were themselves in fear of running into our lines, he got away, and, as he thought, had also sent them directly into the lines of our troops on the river, as he intended they should. But the incident alarmed him and visions of the prison, slavery or torture and cruel death doubtless led him to escape to the free north.

CHAPTER IX

ARMY LIFE ON THE RAPPAHANNOCK.

THAT memorable period of our military lives upon the banks of the Rappahannock, near Fredericksburg, is replete with incidents which, if spread upon this printed page, would be of enduring interest to every member of Company A. We can close our eyes and summon a thousand phantoms of those days, and pass them before us in dim procession; but, alas, who could write them?

Some of them, so well known, can be easily recalled; but the many are harbored in the memories of the individuals who were factors in the great drama, and they will disappear as these one by one answer to the final roll call and go hence.

Our cozy camp with its headquarters, the parade ground, and our company quarters with their streets between the two rows of tents or cabins, or half tent and half cabin, facing the company grounds—I can see them now, seemingly as real as when we occupied them. I can hear our tall and trusty Orderly Sergeant Barnes calling upon “the boys” to “fall in for the morning roll call.” He needed no book, for the duty had so often been performed and each name and place was as familiar to him as if he were reading it from a printed page. I can see the boys falling out of their cozy bunks, in all sorts of dress and *dishabille*, and can hear, as we sometimes did, a reply as an echo from a distant tent, from someone who was not ready, or was unwilling to get out, and wanted a “little more sleep and a little more slumber.” Then the rustling about for breakfast, with all the various devices which Yankee ingenuity could contrive or extract from the incongruous conditions surrounding them. Then the various details going out upon the many calls for public or fatigue duty, for guard mount, for “sick call,” and for the many demands which were constantly made upon the men. Then I can see again the company forming for drill, and four hours of this necessary but laborious effort was then required of us. It was not a little task, but a most interesting service.

A cold or wet day kept the unemployed men indoors, where an endless variety of means were resorted to for passing the long hours away. A fine day left few men indoors. They were scattered abroad to every point within bounds of the camp, and employed in such a multitude of ways, no one could enumerate them all. Along the little streams you would find bathers

and washers, for every man was his own laundryman; and among them it was no uncommon sight to find a number diligently making entomological researches, sitting upon stumps or stones, with calm complacency. The most numerous groups always were found about a deck of cards, anywhere and everywhere, keeping dull care away and not unfrequently with an eye to business by the dexterous manipulations of the papers.

The announcement of "letters" was an occasion of interest, as the most welcome messages from home were distributed from corps, division, brigade, regimental and company headquarters. The quick messengers with daily papers always created a moment of stir and activity as they hurried from camp to camp, and those indomitable spirits did not rest short of the outer picket lines or the front line in time of battle.

The daily allowance of rations was drawn and distributed and sometimes called out undue rivalry to get the "biggest piece." The hour for "dress parade" was usually just before night, and was about the last of the greater duties of the day. Every member of the company was expected to be in the ranks, with arms and accoutrements in best possible condition, and in full dress. How gaily the several companies filed out of their company grounds and marched to the regimental parade grounds! With what pleasure we recall the genial and efficient and lamented Adjutant Pollock as he formed the regiment and presented it to the colonel, after having the several reports from the first sergeant of "all present or accounted for." Then we had "orders" or a brief exercise in the manual of arms. I can see our drum major, Henry E. Richter, with his incomparable drum corps, and their measured tread and solemn music, as they go to the remote end of the line, and then with a livelier step and tune hurry back to their place, as only drummer boys could. I can hear "the parade is dismissed" and then see the line break up with companies, each gaily marching to their company grounds, their day's work being ended. The supper hour was a repetition of the breakfast scene and then the amusements and diversions of the evening, as various as the tastes and habits of men, until "taps" and "lights" out" would leave the camp and the army to the faithful vigils of the pickets and the guards, and the great army would soon be lost in deep and restful slumber. Alas, how often to rude awaking for the conflict which was ever possible. Thus the days and weeks and months and the years passed by.

PRIVATE DIEHL'S GOOD STORIES.

Comrade H. C. Diehl furnishes the following account of his almost tragic death, together with other interesting incidents:

"You remember after the battle of Fredericksburg we lay in Camp Humphrey. The genial Sturger Charles, of that unmatched "Hartleton Mess," was company quartermaster. He could slice the meat ration into larger pieces, clear of bone, than any one we ever had. Being one of his mess, I always drew his rations with mine, and I always got a good piece of meat. But Sturger was a boy of indomitable activity and so extended his labors, especially in the line of a diversion queerly named "draw poker," so that he sometimes forgot the quartermaster part of his duty, and it came about that he resigned and I. Katherman was detailed to fill his place. Isaiah never was a butcher and could not cut as large nor so many pieces for our mess, and we felt the meat famine. Strolling through camp one day with Sturger we passed the store house where great piles of supplies were piled up, and on a pile of cracker boxes was lying a sample slice of mess pork. I think it was from an extinct species, and the original must have weighed about 900 pounds. It was awful tempting. I said to Sturger, "Let's put in a requisition for that." He replied, "I think my old requisition is good for that yet," and we agreed after sunset to "draw it," which we did. Being so rich we proposed to have a jollification and a supper. Our frying pans were entirely too small, so I went to your cook, Charley, for one of your pans. He gave me your largest one, I think, for I remember I had to turn it sidewise to get it through the tent door. We fried that pan full six or eight times, with crackers, and gathered all the acid vinegar in the company and called the boys in to help end the famine, which we did. Sturger went to the sutler's for the cigars and I washed the pan to return it. Just then I was seized with a pain and got fearfully sick. The boys sent for you and when you saw me you sent hurriedly for the doctor. He said the acid vinegar did it. He left two doses of medicine, one to be taken at once and the other in fifteen minutes. But I was in great pain and fifteen minutes seemed awful long, so down went the other dose. I remember I soon got better, but was very weak. Next morning I sat up and expectorated blood and then fainted away and did not recover for forty-eight hours. Isaiah brought in my morning rations and creeping over my bed to put them away he found me cold and black in the face. He shook me and thought I was stark dead. You were

just taking the company out to drill when he reported to you that Diehl was dead. You dismissed them and they gathered around our tent, and you sent for the surgeons. The top was lifted off our tent and the three doctors came and two of them said at once "he is dead," but the youngest detected a sign of life and looked closer, said, I was not dead, when they decided to perform an operation on me. They sent several of the boys for a stretcher and I was lifted out of my bunk and was carried to the regimental hospital. Six men were sent with me, who gave me a vigorous rubbing, and I was enveloped in mustard and flannel and things. The surgeons relieved me with instruments and soon after I awoke. I did not know what had happened, but thought I must have fought over the battle of Fredericksburg, from appearances, which I could not describe to you. Sick men in their cots were all around me and then I recognized the doctors, who stood smiling at me, and quickly gave me assurance that I was all right and that these instruments were not guns or cannon, and that they had saved my life. But from the results of that terrible ordeal I contracted a disease which I will take to my grave, though I do not censure the doctors, for they did all they could do for me.

(Who was the young doctor, and where does he live?)
[Probably Dr. David J. Evans, of San Bernardino, Cal.]

"Do you know, captain, General Hooker once told me, personally, he believed I could almost keep up with a cannon ball, for he saw a sample of my speed. Shortly before the Chancellorsville battle I took a French leave one nice afternoon to visit a brother who was in camp over near Falmouth. I was nearly back again, when I saw the patrol guards heading for me. I did not want to be taken in and ran at a Nancy Hanks gait for our camp. Just then General Hooker, with a number of his staff, came out upon the road and took me by the flank. I could not evade him and stopping, he wanted to know what I was running for. I told him the truth and just then the patrol swept down the road, and I begged that he permit me to go on into camp. He directed me to stay just there and when the guard came up and demanded my pass, the general, so kindly, said they should excuse this man, and sent them on. Then he inquired where I belonged, and I said "Company A, Captain Orwig, 131st Pennsylvania Regiment, just over there in General Humphrey's Division." "Ah!" he said, "among the best soldiers in the world. Go back to your company, for I will always excuse a little transgression in view of such an effort as you were making to get back to your camp duty," and I put

my fingers to my nose, metaphorically, toward the patrol, and went on to my quarters as proud as you please.

"One evening on returning from three day's picket duty, I found my father, Mr. Mark Halfpenny and some other friends in camp, on a visit to the army. We were all delighted. I took father to my quarters, and after speaking to him only about five minutes, I excused myself, got the axe and went out to gather wood for supper. Some one had just cut down a tree, not very far away, and I hurried there and asked the favor for enough wood to get supper, as we had visitors. Just then the division guards surrounded us and run us all into the guard house. I could think of no wrong done and wanted to know why I was arrested, and was told that General Humphrey had given orders not to cut any more trees that would fall across the camp guard lines. I explained, but they would not let me off. Father visited me several times that evening and he was unduly alarmed for my safety. I requested him to go to your quarters, which he did, and I think he staid with you that night and he thought that I would get out all right before morning.

"I thought of various plans of escape and finally proposed to the guards at night they should take us up to see General Allabach and lay our case before him, who, we believed, would intercede for us if he knew our distress. But the guards would not hear us. Later we approached the single guard and told him our case, and he was a good boy. He said, "If you will pledge your honor I will let you go up to see your old colonel, but if he refuses will you come back?" We pledged a soldier's word, and he let us go. The colonel heard us and then said we should remain there until he came back. He was gone quite a while, and we and the guard, I suppose, got quite uneasy. When the colonel returned he handed us an order for our release, and gave us the countersign for the night to get into our camp, which we lost no time in doing.

"Once I was sentenced to be shot. You well remember our Chancellorsville campaign. It was near the close of the battle; there was a heavy detail made to build a corduroy road, over which to move the artillery. I was in that detail. Captain Warcam, of Company K, had charge of the men of the 131st. The weather and the roads were awful. Just before noon the captain sent me with about a dozen of canteens, out about a mile for water. Now, a dozen of canteens of water made a boy considerably top heavy, and it was long after 12 o'clock when I returned. There had been a great deal of trouble among the detail and strict orders had been given not to miss a roll call. I

had to pass over where the thick underbrush had been cut out which gave the place the appearance of a stubble field. As I was walking I fell and struck heavily upon one of these sharp brush stubbles, which ran up under the skin, in the inside of my left leg, and gave me a severe wound. I took a piece from my shirt and bandaged it, but when I got back the roll had been called, and there were other absentees, who doubtless were shirking. I was ordered, with two others, to report to the officer in charge of the general detail and when I got there he had our names. The general seemed very angry and charged us with shirking duty and said he was going to punish us. He drew from his pocket a little diary and said to us, "I am going to excuse two of you and the third I intend to have court martialed and shot." He wrote "excused" on two papers and on the other "death." "You will draw lots and the one who gets the paper marked 'death' I will shoot, and teach a lesson of obedience to orders." He handed the papers down to us—he was on horseback—and as they drew their papers I could see on each one as they drew "excused." I took the last one and on it was in cold letters "death." He let the two boys go; and then turning to me he said, "Now, my boy, if you have any reasonable excuse for your absence I will hear you." I told him my story and showed him my wounded limb, which he said was a bad wound, and he did not make an example of me. But that limb has caused me much suffering and a great deal of money, yet I never was able to get a pension on it. I never could find out who that officer was. He would surely recall the circumstance.

"That night, after we were released from the detail and got our arms, we found some troops moving through the woods and I stepped out to inquire who they were, "Company B, 131st Pennsylvania," was the reply, and I hurried to the front and found my company. They had been in the woods all night, aiding the batteries and were wet and covered with mud, and were on their way to the pontoon bridge to cover the passage. They only moved a short way and then were halted, and it kept on raining in torrents. I was completely worn out and threw myself down by a tree to get some rest, throwing my poncho over me and was soon asleep. Some general came along, leading his horse through the darkness and his spurs and sword made more noise than a moving battery. He gave me a kick and told me to get out of this or I would be captured or shot. He went on and I was soon sound asleep again and did not wake up until morning, when there was not a soldier in sight. I reached the river just as the last battery was getting on the bridge. They told me to jump on that cannon and ride it, which I did. I

want to say just here that if any dyspeptic wants to be cured he will find an unfailing cure by taking a ride upon a cannon across a pontoon bridge on a retreat.

"Did you ever know that Company A had a set of side officers—captain and lieutenants? But we had. They confined their operations only to the care of bottled goods. Do you remember the big sutler establishment along the railroad between Fredericksburg and Aquia Creek? The boys used to make up a jack pot and send some one to buy six bottles for \$10. When I was sent for some I was told they could not sell to me, as they could sell only to officers. Well, I thought I would return and be promoted. I went to your quarters to see you but I was told you were out on the picket line; but I saw your dress coat hanging in your tent and the thought occurred that if I put it on, the sutler, who was not a critical military man, might pass me as a captain, at least as far as a deal on bottled goods was necessary at his sutler's stand. It was so. I handed the clerk \$10 and got six bottles. The thing was repeated, sometimes using the captain's and sometimes the lieutenant's coat, but the sutler never cared about our ranks or how often we were reduced or promoted. You will now know how it came about that sometimes a bottle of whiskey was found at Company A's headquarters in such a mysterious way.

H. C. DIEHL,

July 15, 1895.

Bloomer, Oklahoma Territory.

CHANGING CAMPS.

On the second day of February, 1863, we left camp near Potomac Creek and took the new position, nearer Falmouth, and which was designated officially as Camp Humphrey, in honor of our division commander. The author of the History of the 122d Pennsylvania Regiment visited this camp and he pays the following compliment to the taste and industry of the soldiers of this division in that interesting book:

"Humphrey's Division of the Fifth Corps, was located north of and to the east of our camp, nestled in a dense pine or spruce forest. The soldier boys of this division had erected for their comfort and convenience a number of neat, novel looking booths, of the spruce trees and boughs, which exhibited the taste and mechanical skill of the builders, as well as presenting the appearance, somewhat, of a village. They were handsome, too, as they were decorated with archways and mottoes of evergreens. They were from the interior of the state of Pennsylvania, and were fine looking troops who had undergone their baptismal shower of leaden hail at Antietam."

Captain Jones, of Company C, and his entire company, were detailed as provost guard at division headquarters, and the captain was appointed provost marshal of the Third Division, Fifth Army Corps, and served very faithfully and acceptably in the trying position until the expiration of our term of service. Whilst we recognized the honorable distinction which this detail gave to Captain Jones and Lieutenants Brice and Fowler, we nevertheless, all regretted their absence and that of Company C, from the various activities of our regiment, both social and otherwise.

ARMY BADGES.

General Meade, our new corps commander, gave evidence of his superior merits as a commander by the industry and zeal which he displayed in the discharge of his duties to his troops. He was everywhere, looking into the details of camp life, observing for himself the necessities demanding attention and devising means for the comfort and efficiency of his men. It was no uncommon thing to find him, almost unattended, riding or walking about the camps, through company streets, among the tents or quarters of the men, and about the out-of-the-way places throughout his command.

General Hooker was indefatigable in his work of preparation and reorganization; yet the long time required for this work was often compared to the prompt and repeated efforts of General Burnside, to his disparagement. It was well known that between these generals a bitter enmity existed, and that General Hooker had been very active in opposition to Burnside. No doubt this had much to do with the efforts which were made to misrepresent the *morale* of the army during the winter, which was grossly misrepresented, manifestly to the disparagement of the former commander of the army. But no efforts were now spared to secure the highest possible efficiency. Among those various expedients was the device for corps and division badges, which proved so effective, and an interesting feature, present and future, of our army history. The following extract from General Hooker's order will sufficiently explain these:

"For the purpose of ready recognition of corps and divisions of this army, and to prevent injustice by reports of straggling and misconduct, through mistake as to their organization, the chief quartermaster will furnish, without delay, the following badges to be worn by the officers and men of all the regiments of the various corps mentioned. They will be securely fastened upon the centre of the top of the cap. The inspection officers will at all inspections see that these badges are worn as

designated. Red for First Division, white for Second Division, blue for Third Division. First Corps, a sphere; Second Corps, a trefoil; Third Corps, lozenge; Fifth Corps, a Maltese cross; Sixth Corps, a cross; Eleventh Corps, a crescent; Twelfth Corps, a star."

Injustice was frequently done by false reports as to the identity of men; especially by stragglers or perpetrators of crimes or other misdeeds, who would, by design, misrepresent the regiment or company to which they might claim to belong, when apprehended.

An instance of this kind came to my personal knowledge in our company. An order came down from brigade headquarters placing Lieutenant Kepler under arrest, for alleged non-performance of duty as commander of a large fatigue detail the day previous at Stoneman's Station. I received the order but did not communicate it to the lieutenant, as I was sure there was some mistake. I went to headquarters to ascertain the character of the charges and was shown the complaint of Miss Fogg to General Sykes, who referred it to our division headquarters, that men belonging to the 131st Pennsylvania Regiment, claiming to be a part of a detail employed at the station, had broken open and appropriated supplies of the Maine sanitary commission. This was sent down by General Humphrey with directions to investigate and punish the offenders. I knew Lieutenant Kepler to be a faithful and careful officer, and believed that his detail had not been near that locality, and General Allabach happened to know that his fatigue labors were performed elsewhere, so that he withdrew the order for arrest, and it was not repeated. I have no doubt the real offenders knew of Lieutenant Kepler's detail and they falsely personated his soldiers. I did not tell him and he never knew how narrowly he escaped arrest. Since engaged in writing these "Reminiscences" I sent the complaint of Miss Fogg, and the official orders of Generals Sykes and Humphrey to our brigade commander, General Allabach, with the request that he should tell me what he knew of the matter. I have a most cordial reply dated Chicago, Ill., Jan. 22, 1896. He says:

"In regard to that Madame Fogg and her claims, it is the first time I ever heard of it, or the orders enclosed. If I am spared and ever get time I will be glad to write some of my recollections of incidents occurring whilst with Company A. How I would like to see you and "the boys." If you ever come this way be sure to call and if I don't give you a warm welcome, dear comrade, it will be because I don't know how.

Sincerely your well wisher, J. W. KEPLER.

The rigor of winter was telling upon some of the men. I met our genial and most able and watchful surgeon, J. F. Huber, one day, who made anxious inquiry about two of the members of Company A, our old man Dollard, and our big man Hartley, (or Erdly.) They had been answering sick calls, but he came to inquire about their habits and their quarters. The former was too old for the service and his accustomed habits had been rudely broken in upon by the discipline of his army life. He had good quarters, but he could not keep warm, and none of the men would sleep with him. Upon full inquiry the doctor advised that I should devise some way of giving him a warm bed, and, if possible, a regular supply of stimulant, for a while. I subsequently called him to my tent ostensibly to employ him on detail duty, and inquired about his health, etc., and proposed to detail him to guard our tent at night and keep up the fire on the hearth! I asked him, also, if he knew how to make "hot toddy," and the smile which lit up his sad face made him look twenty years younger. He was really suffering for the want of his accustomed stimulants. He replied, "Oh, toddy, toddy! Yes, I can make toddy." I then told him we always kept a supply of the commissary's best on hand, for emergencies, and that I now wanted to place "our little brown jug" in his charge, and I would not forbid his making "toddy" for himself, but that he would be removed and punished if he abused his privilege. His "guard duty" he could perform inside the tent, and he could have a pile of blankets, and he need not remain awake, but just keep an eye open for any improbable depredators. He was healthy and happy ever afterwards, and all through the service and subsequently he was a most faithful soldier, and a grateful and enthusiastic friend. He visited me annually for years, when I resided at Mifflinburg, and usually remained for several days. My grape vines and trees were trimmed and he sang German lullabys whilst he rocked the babe to sleep, and he would have done a thousand favors if they had been possible to him. He died some years later, at Milton, where he fills a soldier's grave, and is tenderly cared for by Company E.

The case of Elias Hartley was different. He was very tall, six feet three, and very awkward, so that he was not capable of taking a soldier's place in the ranks. He could scarcely talk English and had an impediment in his speech, so that he could scarcely make his wants known. He was suffering and the doctor suggested his discharge. I do not think he ever passed the examining surgeons, but gained his membership through

substitution, by designing men who were the forerunners of the bounty jumpers at Harrisburg. I told the doctor I could not name his disability, except that he was wholly unfitted for the service, but he volunteered to write his application for discharge, which was duly executed and approved and on the 14th day of February he was honorably discharged. I felt a keen sympathy for the unfortunate man, who was so manifestly out of place in the army. He was doubtless patriotic and deserving, but it was the act of the betrayer who procured his admission to the army. He needed most such a friend as he found in the just and considerate surgeon of the regiment.

Among the eventful incidents of the division was the alleged mutiny in the 129th Regiment, of Tyler's Brigade. It appears that regiment was required by order of the division commander to procure dress coats. It was so late in the term of their service, and the men protested against what they deemed a needless expense and would be only a burden upon them in the expected operations of the army in active service. The officers, therefore, declined to make or sign the necessary requisitions. General Humphrey, I think unwisely, insisted upon his order, and placed each succeeding officer under arrest, who was called to command and then refused to make the requisition. At this stage General Allabach's Brigade was called out and a hollow square was formed around the offending regiment. It appeared to be a most critical situation, but a subordinate officer finally yielded and made the required requisition for the dress coats, which were issued to the men.

There was no more gallant regiment in the service than the 129th in the recent battle of Fredericksburg and the subsequent court martial of some of its officers was generally condemned as a most inconsiderate act, although the division general's authority could not be questioned. Lieut.-Col. Wm. H. Armstrong, of Easton, who was tried by court martial and found guilty of disobedience to orders, was immediately restored at the request of Governor Curtin, and by order of the Secretary of War. Subsequently a little volume was issued from the press of G. W. Carlton, New York, entitled "Red Tape and Pigeon Hole Generals, as Seen from the Ranks," which was a scathing review of many of the incidents which occurred in General Humphrey's Division. The court martial of the young man whom I found sleeping on his post is given, as is, also, the altercation between Lieut. William H. Wolfe and the lieutenant-colonel of the 131st. An amusing chapter relates the "Childlike and Bland" experience of a sutler to whom

was entrusted a general's favorite horse, that was to be taken to Washington for careful treatment. The sutler gave no vouchers for the horse, and possibly sold him upon the first opportunity, and had all the better time at Washington. On his return he accounted to the general with the story that the horse had been pronounced glandered and was shot, a proceeding which he could not avert and he was very sorry! It appears the general was a swearing man and the scene described is a most amusing one, and must be read to be appreciated. We used to go to T. G. Evans, a popular and entertaining officer of the 129th, who could tell the story equally well as the caustic author of the book. Evans is at present a citizen of Lewisburg, and may not yet have forgotten how to relate the story and picture the almost tragic encounter between the general and the innocent and irresponsible agent who kindly agreed to take his pet horse to Washington.

Among the reinforcements which were coming to the army was the new 150th Pennsylvania Regiment, Col. Langhorn Wister, and Lieut.-Col. Thomas Chamberlin, formerly of Lewisburg. Company D, of this regiment, was Capt. H. W. Crotzer's Union County company, which was the next one to leave home after the departure of Company A, 131st. They went into quarters near Belle Plain, and became part of the First Corps, and won distinction on many battlefields.

I recall a very pleasant event—a visiting day—by a dozen or more officers of our brigade, who, securing good horses and a day's leave of absence, made the day merry in calling upon a great many comrades, in the various regiments, extending all the way from Falmouth to Belle Plain. The 150th Pennsylvania had just recently arrived from Washington and were greeted with a pitiless snow storm before they had erected quarters. But they were equal to the emergency, as they proved themselves to be upon all occasions in their eventful three years' campaigning. Harry M. Keiffer, the drummer boy, who contributed that charming addition to our war literature, "Recollections of a Drummer Boy," which still continues to charm and instruct thousands of readers, at home and in foreign lands, was a member of Company D, and was a young Mifflinburg boy. We met him upon this visit, and all his well known heroes, including "Andy." They proved themselves in their "trial by fire" worthy representatives of gallant little Union county. I rode upon this occasion the spirited little bay owned by Capt. H. K. Tyler, of General Allabach's staff, who kindly sent it to me for the occasion. I inadvertently remarked

to Lieut. D. B. Wilson, of Company D, as we were mounting, that I did not want to ride very fast, as my confidence in my equestrianism was not unbounded, but I had scarcely uttered it when I detected, by the twinkling of his merry eye, that I had erred. We had no sooner united with the larger group of visitors, and emerged from our camps, when someone suggested, "Now for a race—the best man foremost and the—take the hindmost," and off they went at breakneck speed, through the bushes, over stumps and gullies, across the plain, for there were no roads. I think I held on to the pommel, and possibly shut my eyes. I could scarcely restrain the efforts of the noble little bay, to get to the front, for his owner was a skillful horseman and frequently rode him in the jolly hurdle races, which afforded such a fund of fun and recreation in our camp life. My early training, however, with our farm horses stood me well, and I soon became quite confident and at ease in the saddle, and whilst I kept well to the rear, upon this first spurt, I had the delightful satisfaction of running fairly around Lieutenant Wilson during the day, who most graciously complimented me for having, he believed, the best horse in the company! We visited many camps and saw many old friends, and the pleasant memories of the occasion will linger long among the multitude of war incidents which come up as we recall life in that winter camp about Fredericksburg. Lieutenant Wilson was a native of Hartleton, Union county, and a brother of the Hon. William F. Wilson of that place. He acted as adjutant of the regiment, when Adjutant Pollock was performing staff duty, and was recognized as one of the most efficient officers of the regiment. He was among the successful officers recommended for the signal service and he subsequently entered the regular army.

A detailed report was called for showing a full report of the condition of every company of the regiment on the 23d day of February, 1863. These reports are interesting as an exhibit of the presence or absence of every member of the regiment on this date.

Company A reported forty-three for duty. The other companies of the regiment made reports showing "present for duty" as follows: B, fifty-one; C, no report, the company being absent on provost duty; D, thirty; E, thirty-seven; F, forty-one; G, forty-one; H, forty; I, forty-eight; K, thirty-nine. Some of these did not include those present and unequipped.

The two deserters were Privates William G. Henry, who claimed to come from Middletown, Pa., and deserted at Harris-

burg August 12, and Sylvester Smith, of Jefferson county, New York, who deserted at Sharpsburg, October 10, 1862. Those men were doubtless among the pioneer "bounty jumpers" who later infested the recruiting stations and were so successfully and disgracefully manipulated by professional recruiting agents, who were partners in the disloyal and dishonorable business. These were the only desertions from Company A, and it is a matter of congratulation that neither of them belonged to Union county.

Private G. W. Ludwig, who for a long time was absent sick, was, on October 31, reported to be at convalescent camp, near Alexandria. Our subsequent reports recorded him sick in hospital at Washington, after which we received an official notice of his furlough from Harwood hospital, Washington, D. C., by Assistant Adjutant General Drake DeKay, defences of Washington, for a period of sixty days, beginning December 15. This appears to have been our first and last official notice of his whereabouts. He was subsequently regularly thus reported, until after the expiration of his leave of absence, when, receiving no further notice and not returning to his company, he was reported as a deserter. This was our duty, but it subsequently became known that he was not a deserter but was sick and unable to report, and no notice was received by us to account for his absence until after the expiration of our term of service. Proper official notices accounting fully for him may have been sent, but they failed to reach his company, and thus a great injustice was done to a very worthy and patriotic young man, who was prostrated by disease during the greater period of his term of enlistment, a victim alike to the hardships of the service and the accidents of official correspondence. He was not a deserter. Many such instances occurred throughout the service and after the war ample provision was made at Washington for a correction of all such errors, upon the muster rolls, by a proper presentation of the facts. I recall at one time having certified to my knowledge of the circumstances of Comrade Ludwig's case, which I presume was officially corrected upon the records in the War Department.

Spring was now admonishing us with her gentle breezes, budding trees and creeping grass, that soon the storms and snows and bottomless roads would yield and General Hooker's great army, so long preparing, would resume the gory work to which it was appointed, and to which a confiding people was looking with so great expectancy.

The vacancy occasioned by Captain Moyer's absence was

now to be filled, and for this purpose application was made for the honorable discharge of First Sergt. William Fichthorn, for the purpose of accepting a promotion to the position of lieutenant. This was granted, as will be seen from the following :

HEADQUARTERS, FIFTH ARMY CORPS,
NEAR FREDERICKSBURG, VA.

Special Orders No. 94.—Extract.

1st. The following enlisted men are hereby honorably discharged from the service of the United States to enable them to receive commissions in the volunteer service. * * * *

First Sergt. William Fichthorn, Company A, 131st Pennsylvania Regiment, to date from March 31, 1863.

By Command of

MAJ. GEN. GEORGE G. MEADE.

FRED T. LOCKE, Asst. Adjt. General.

The commanding officer of the regiment sent the following letter of recommendation to Gov. A. G. Curtin at Harrisburg :

HEADQUARTERS, 131ST REGIMENT,
CAMP HUMPHREYS, VA.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, A. G. CURTIN, Governor.

I would respectfully recommend First Lieut. Joseph R. Orwig, of Company A, to be commissioned captain of said company in place of J. M. Moyer, cashiered, commission to date from April 1.

Also, Second Lieut. Joseph W. Kepler, to be first lieutenant of same company, commission to date from April 1.

Also, Sergt. William Fichthorn to be second lieutenant of same company, commission to date from April 1, 1863.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM B. SHAUT,
Lieutenant Colonel Commanding Regiment.

These appointments were promptly made and commissions were forwarded from Harrisburg.

We had quite a time finding a mustering officer, but a recent appointment had been made for our division, and we set out one fine day to find this officer, whose cozy little wall tent and official headquarters was nestled in a forest, near the 126th Regiment. It was Adjutant John Stewart, of the 126th, who duly mustered us. Twenty years later I met him again for the first time since that little event, in the Pennsylvania State li-

brary, and recognized him as the officer who had mustered me as a captain. He was then Senator Stewart and now the Hon. John Stewart, of the Franklin Judicial District.

The promotion of Sergeant Fichthorn created a vacancy, as did the honorable discharge of Corporals Smith and Strahan, for wounds received in battle, and these were filled by the following appointments:

HEADQUARTERS, 131ST REGIMENT,
CAMP NEAR FALMOUTH, VA.

Regimental Orders No. 12.

1. Second Sergt. Albert Barnes is hereby promoted to be first sergeant of Company A, vice William Fichthorn, promoted.

2. Third Sergt. Forster Halfpenny is hereby promoted second sergeant, vice Barnes, promoted.

3. Fourth Sergt. Isaac Treat is hereby promoted to be third sergeant, vice Halfpenny, promoted.

4. Fifth Sergt. Joseph Shriner is hereby promoted fourth sergeant, vice Treat, promoted.

5. Third Corp. Henry Rothermal is hereby promoted fifth sergeant, vice Shriner, promoted.

6. Private Jacob Hower is hereby promoted third corporal, vice Rothermal, promoted.

7. Private William H. Weirick is hereby promoted sixth corporal, vice Corporal Strahan, honorably discharged. All of Company A, 131st Regiment.

They will be obeyed and respected accordingly.

By order of

MAJOR ROBERT W. PATTON,
Commanding Regiment.

S. H. POLLOCK, Adjutant.

No notice had at this date been received of the discharge of Corporal S. S. Smith, for disability on account of wounds, and his place was not filled.

The explosions in camp will be remembered among the eventful incidents of our camp life on the Rappahannock. It was among the common tricks for boys to steal upon a mess when preparing their meals and drop a cartridge down their chimney into the fire. This, of course, was meanness, and not fun, but I think it suggested the manufacturing of larger explosives, by those inclined to mischief, which were secretly dropped in unsuspected places, with a slow match ignited, when an explosion would follow, after the perpetrators had time to appear as most innocent observers at a good distance from the

scene. Of course an explosion was a most offensive noise to the order-loving commanders, as it is a signal for alarm, and they were justly indignant. But the severe discipline in the division had given offense which was shared largely throughout the division, and when this means of mischief was found to worry, and offered protection through its secrecy, the setting off of bombs became epidemic. General Humphrey held the officers responsible for the good order of the camp and first ordered the arrest of the officers of the guard, and directed the brigade commanders to hold the regimental officers strictly responsible for this most unmilitary conduct. The following notice was sent to the commanding officer of the 131st:

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE, APRIL 9, 1863.

LIEUT.-COL. W. B. SHAUT,

In accordance with orders just received from the general commanding division, you will place in close arrest the officer of the day and the officer of the guard of your regiment for neglect of duty in allowing disorderly conduct and disturbance in camp.

He also directs that if the commanding officer cannot restrain the men and preserve proper order, another officer must be put in command of the regiment.

P. H. ALLABACH,

Colonel Commanding Brigade.

All this was complacently regarded by the mischief makers, and their scheme was voted a booming success, all at the expense of the officers. At midnight that night I was aroused by an orderly with a notice of detail as officer of the day, to report at brigade headquarters at once. The old officers were all under arrest. I found General Allabach up and in full dress for duty. He had been ordered to appear, with the newly detailed officer of the day of the 131st, at division headquarters, at once. Several tremendous explosions had taken place at about 11 o'clock at night and had created alarm throughout the entire corps. When we arrived there General Humphrey was pacing his tent and probably was praying for the miserable sinners in Allabach's Brigade! He was much agitated, though he received us cordially and then stated that he wished to consult us upon a plan to discover the offenders and prevent the disgraceful disturbances caused by the explosions.

The subject was fully considered and it was suggested that it was all a spirit of mischief, and thus far the arrest of officers was so much fuel to the flame and was only enjoyed by the per-

petrators of the offences. The general took this view of it and it was then determined that the arrests should all be recalled and hereafter, upon every explosion, the guards would be doubled and extra duty details would all be made from the regimental offending. It worked like a charm. The men were soon all performing increased duty and they learned that they brought about their own punishment, and the fun ceased, but not before a bomb had been placed under the very fly of the general's tent, the explosion of which covered him and his headquarters with a cloud of earth and dust, as a parting salute.

The frequent raids which our vigilant enemy on the southern banks of the Rappahannock were making, in order to watch our movements, and fathom the designs of General Hooker, necessitated strong picket lines and active support of them. One night the rebel cavalry leader, Gen. Fitz Lee, crossed one of the upper fords and our division was sent out to check his advance. He had been ordered by Gen. R. E. Lee to ascertain if Hooker was making a movement, and did not force an attack. We had a long and laborious night march and a spring snow storm was adding zest to the movement. The event will be remembered mainly for the end of our service that night, which was one of the merriest occasions of our service. We had had a most disagreeable night and fully expected a conflict with the enemy, who was known to be near. But daylight disclosed the retreat of Lee and our force was allowed to stack arms and await orders. The soft snow, now almost six inches in depth, invited snow balling and it was not long until almost the entire command was engaged, in well matched sides, in a most terrific fight, affording some of the most comic scenes. The heavy artillery was represented by fours with immense balls, which were sent crashing through the defences, quickly to be met by counter charges, and thus the fun was maintained with as much zeal as when charging the enemy in actual conflict. The cold and wet and fatigue of the night were forgotten, and soon orders were received which brought the boys to the ranks and their guns, and we returned to camp. General Lee went back and reported that he could not detect a movement of the Army of the Potomac.

We had a number of snow storms during the winter, but the heaviest fall occurred late in the spring. It will not be forgotten by those of Company A who were on the picket line that night. It will be remembered those details for picket were made for a service of three days. Our corps held the line extending from near the river northward and towards Stafford

Court House, connecting with Siegel's lines, and I was in charge of our division line. I had four hundred men; these were divided into four reliefs. One hundred were held as a reserve, to be ready at all times for any emergency, and the others each held the lines alternately for twenty-four hours. Sergeant Shriner was one of the detail, whom I recall, as he had the charge of a prisoner taken and escorted him, with a detail, to headquarters of the picket, and he was sent to Washington City. It turned out that he was a brother to two young ladies living out beyond our lines, who were known to many of the boys. Next day we were obliged to arrest these young ladies, who were more persistent than polite in their efforts to secure the return of their brother. Our orders were strict and I might have sent them in, but they were well known by some of the men, and, after they realized the danger of crossing our lines, and the necessity and justice of our orders, they were given the liberty of returning, and their wishes in regard to their brother were communicated to headquarters; but it was two weeks or more before he was returned. On our last night we had the terrific snow storm. Rebel cavalry were found in front and we had special orders to be watchful. I was along the line all night and snow and rain made it most disagreeable. By 3 o'clock it was more than a foot in depth, but all was quiet. The hut of a lame colored man, with a wife and a little boy, were just inside our lines. I was wet through and tired, and posting Sergeant Shriner as to where I might be found, I rapped at the door of the hut and requested to be permitted to warm by their log fire upon the hearth, to which I was cordially invited. I was warmed and had a refreshing nap of an hour, when day dawned and I found all the pickets alert and then went to the reserves. Not a man could be seen! I knew they were sleeping on their arms, and did not believe they had deserted. They heard my approach and soon one after the other emerged from under the snow, until there was a general uprising, and the hundred men made merry by snow balling.

A part of Fitz Hugh Lee's duty was to enforce the rebel conscript act, by which means the Army of Northern Virginia was largely reinforced. At this time many of the new troops which were coming to the Union Army had been paid bounties, largely for the purpose of supporting dependent families, but they were mercilessly criticised, although no distinction was made in the ranks, and they served with credit to the end of the war. The rebel ranks were made up by a merciless conscription "which robbed alike the cradle and the grave." The pris-

oner taken on our picket lines claimed that he was fleeing from Fitz Lee's cavalry, who were after him to "graft him into the army."

The Pennsylvania Reserves were sent to Alexandria to do garrison duty upon the line of the railroad extending from that place to the front. The 121st and the 142d Pennsylvania Regiments remained with the First Corps. After the battle of Chancellorsville the reserves rejoined the Fifth Corps on the march to Gettysburg, taking the place of Humphrey's Division.

The prolonged inactivity of the Army of the Potomac was now giving rise to many criticisms adverse to the new commander, as compared with the activity of movements under General Burnside, who in the short time he commanded had four times put the army in battle array, and at no time failed on account of faults of his men.

President Lincoln again visited the army, who reviewed the Fifth Corps on the 7th of April.

CHAPTER X.

THE CHANCELLORSVILLE CAMPAIGN.

ON the 12th of April General Stoneman, commanding the cavalry corps, received orders to march, and on the next day, with a feint upon the guerrillas in the Shenandoah valley, was to ascend the Rappahannock and turn to the rear of Lee's army, destroy his communications and then join the Army of the Potomac. If Lee retreated he was to harass him day and night. "Let your watchword be, Fight! and let all your orders be, Fight, *Fight*, FIGHT!" was the order of General Hooker.

On April 21, Doubleday, of the First Corps, made a demonstration down the Rappahannock, which had the effect of drawing Stonewall Jackson's Corps to Port Royal, and was further intended to aid the cavalry raid. But Stoneman was detained by high water and rains until the 27th. On Monday, April 27, the First, Third and Sixth Corps were ordered to prepare to cross the river at or near Fredericksburg, at Franklin's crossing. General Sedgwick to command the three corps.

On the same day, the 27th, the Eleventh, Twelfth and Fifth Corps, with eight days' rations, and sixty rounds of ammunition, and eighty rounds upon pack mules, were ordered to Kelly's ford, on the Rappahannock, thirty miles above Fredericksburg, where they arrived and were massed at 4 o'clock next day.

The First Corps, under the three division commanders, Wadsworth, Robinson, and Doubleday, had "for duty" 16,908 men.

Second Corps, General Couch, with the three division commanders, Hancock, Gibbon and French, had 16,893 men.

The Third Corps, General Sickles, with the three division commanders, Birney, Berry and Whipple, had 18,721 men.

The Fifth Corps, General Meade, with the divisions of Griffin, Sykes and Humphrey, had 15,724 men.

The Sixth Corps, General Sedgwick, with the divisions of Brooks, Howe and Newton, had 23,667 men.

The Eleventh Corps, General Howard, with the divisions of Devins, Schurz and Steinwehr, had 12,977 men.

The Twelfth Corps, General Slocum, with the divisions of Williams and Geary, had 13,450 men.

The Cavalry Corps, General Stoneman, with Pleasanton Gregg, Averill and Buford's Reserve Brigade, had 11,541 men.

The artillery, General Hunt, had about 400 guns and 1,600 reserve men. A total of 131,491.

Lee's rebel army occupied the south banks of the Rappahannock, mainly from Bank's ford, six miles above Fredericksburg, to Port Royal, or Skinker's Neck, twelve miles below Fredericksburg, but had outposts at the upper fords of the river and at various points in the rear of his army. General Longstreet commanded the First Corps and General Jackson the Second Corps. Their divisions corresponded with our corps—Anderson and McLaw, 17,000, only were present, of the First Corps, and A. P. Hill and D. H. Hill, now commanded by Rhoads. Trimble and Early commanded the divisions under Jackson, of the Second Corps, 33,400; Stuart commanded the cavalry, about 5,000, a total of about 63,000 men and 170 pieces of artillery.

The rebel authors, Hotchkiss and Allen, give the total as 58,100 men, but state that "there may have been three to five thousand more men in line at the time of Hooker's attack."

In Hooker's subsequent testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War occurs this tribute to the rebel soldiers: "Our artillery had always been superior to that of the rebels, as was our infantry also, except in discipline; and that for reasons not necessary to mention, never did equal Lee's army. With a rank and file vastly inferior to our own, intellectually and physically, that army has, by discipline alone, acquired a character for steadiness and efficiency, unsurpassed, in my judgment, in ancient or modern times. We have not been able to rival it, nor has there been any near approximation to it in the other rebel armies."

The methods of reporting numbers were not alike and the rebels usually had many more men than were reported, and the Union army less, because the latter were made from the rolls and the former reported only "effective," or what they believed to be such. As their records were nearly all destroyed when Richmond was evacuated, correct reports cannot be made, nor rebel statements verified.

Bank's ford is six miles, and United States ford is about thirteen miles above Fredericksburg on the Rappahannock. Chancellorsville is about three miles from the river, on the south side, a little below the United States ford, near which the Rapidan enters into the Rappahannock. North and west of Chancellorsville is a wilderness, but from several miles south

to Fredericksburg, about fourteen miles, is open country, and much of it a beautiful and much improved farming country, through which runs the pike and plank roads parallel, which intersect at Chancellorsville and diverge again a few miles beyond, towards Orange Court House. Ely's ford and Germania, are the fords on the Rapidan where the Fifth, Eleventh and Twelfth crossed that stream, after they had crossed the Rappahannock at Kelly's ford, on their flanking movement to Chancellorsville; the Fifth fording at Ely's ford, and the other two corps at Germania, where they captured a number of rebels building a bridge. This they completed and most of the troops crossed upon the new bridge.

General Longstreet with a portion of his corps, had gone to Suffolk to operate against General Peck, but General Lee recalled him when he discovered Hooker's movement.

These sudden movements disclosed General Hooker's plan, which, in many features, was not unlike the general plan of his predecessor—a cavalry raid to the rear, a feint on the left and the main assault elsewhere.

It will be seen the crucial test was to be made by the flanking columns of the Fifth, Eleventh and Twelfth Corps. When we broke camp that bright spring morning on Monday, April 27th, the army bid goodbye to their winter quarters and no one expected to return to them again, and everything combustible was given to the flames. The *morale* of the army never was better, and once again the abused Army of the Potomac set out hopefully and joyously against Lee and the hostile flag of the Confederacy and Richmond.

Our first day's march brought the 131st Regiment, marching with the Fifth Corps, to the vicinity of Hartwood Church, where we bivouacked, and early next morning resumed the march by a wide detour, away from the river, to Kelly's ford.

Pontoons were thrown across at once and the troops began to cross, led by the Eleventh Corps, the Fifth Corps guarding the rear. When the divisions of Griffin and Sykes had crossed, General Meade turned over to General Humphrey the supervision of the crossing and directed him to cover the rear and take up the bridges. It was nearly night, on Wednesday, before the last wagon trains were safely over and by 11 o'clock our division was on duty on the south side, the pontoons packed and the trains ready to move. Our division had a most difficult, trying and dangerous position. The trains were long, pack mules and cattle difficult to handle, and the rain and mud made the roads almost impassable after the bulk of our column

had passed. At about 5 o'clock in the morning General Humphrey discovered that our guide had led us on the wrong road and in the darkness we were compelled to await the dawn before we could advance. It was a most trying and wretched night for the men.

The pontoons were needed for the crossing of the Rapidan and these trains were sent ahead under escort. At daylight, Thursday, April 31, we received orders to advance to Ely's ford, on the Rapidan, as quickly as possible, the other forces having been directed to Germania ford. The head of the column reached the Rapidan at about 1 p. m., having made a forced march of about eighteen miles. After fording the river we bivouacked on the banks of Hunting Creek, three miles from Chancellorsville. The fording of the river by our division was a sight to behold and never to be forgotten. The men were weary and heavy laden, and mud covered, after their prolonged flanking movement, having marched more than sixty miles; and the waters were cold and turbulent.

General Slocum, in his report, says: "I have never witnessed a scene that tended more to increase my confidence in our men, or that so strongly excited my admiration, than that presented by the fording of the Rapidan River." The 131st Regiment reached the river at Ely's ford, early in the afternoon. Our ranks were broken and the men marched "at will." Strong cavalymen were stationed in the river to pick up any who might be floundered by the quick current, and they doubtless saved the lives of more than one poor fellow who got beyond his depth and his strength and started headlong down stream to be rescued by the timely aid of those cavalymen. Many of the men took off their clothes and tied their accoutrements, with their bundles, or knapsacks, to the end of their guns, and thus bore them aloft safely and triumphantly, to the other side. Those improvised banners did not need the inscription of "Excelsior" to give that column a strange appearance; nor was any device necessary to stamp them as brave and resolute as was the heroic boy made famous in the storied song amid the Alpine heights. The ford was narrow and the men were not hurried, as they were going to bivouac nearby on the other side, so that it was dark before the last ones got over. The thick pine afforded some shelter and a soft bed, but we were not permitted to have camp fires, and those whose clothes were wet had to pile a good many in a bed to maintain warmth enough to enable their tired bodies to sleep. Those who had "straggled" that day had quite a time finding the division, and

some of these got away off to the plank road then held by the enemy, and narrowly escaped running into their lines.

On the morning of May 1, our division marched into Chancellorsville, at about 7 o'clock, where it joined Griffin. Sykes had pushed forward to the United States ford, where he captured and dispersed the enemy by taking their position in reverse, thus opening communication by that ford. The entire Fifth Corps was then massed at Chancellorsville. The Eleventh and Twelfth Corps picked up all the enemies' pickets or dispersed the small detachments in their front, and arrived at Chancellorsville at about 2 o'clock on Thursday.

Stoneman's cavalry were sent out to reach the rear of Lee's army and destroy his communications.

The Second Corps, General Couch, had been ordered to Bank's ford, except Gibbon's Division, which remained in camp. This corps was to keep back from the river, until the flanking column came down on the other side. Gibbon's Division was in plain view of the rebels and was designed to mystify Lee and to be in position to prevent a crossing to the north side by the enemy. On Thursday, as soon as the Fifth Corps had uncovered United States ford, the rebels under Mahone and Posey, who were guarding the south side, were compelled to retreat, and Couch threw his pontoons over and his two divisions joined the other column at Chancellorsville. As soon as Couch's Second Corps had crossed, General Sickles' Third Corps, which lay at Franklin's crossing, just below Fredericksburg, was ordered to proceed up the river to United States ford, to be at Chancellorsville on Friday morning, May 1.

General Hooker now issued the following:

APRIL 30, 1863.

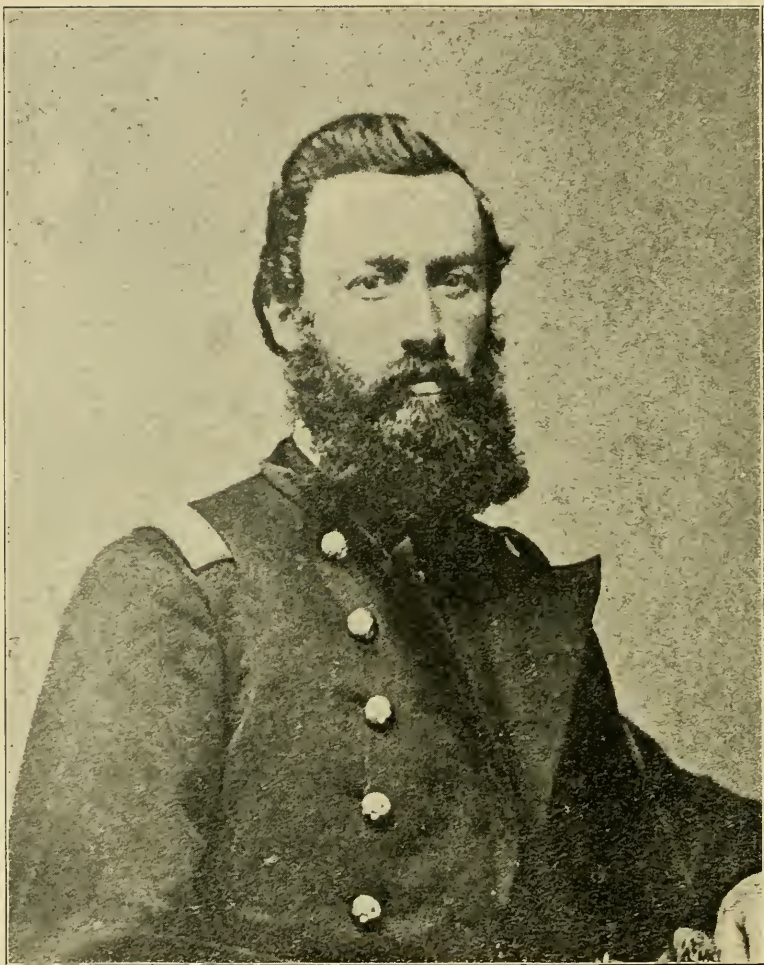
General Orders No. 47: It is with heartfelt satisfaction that the commanding general announces to the army that the operations of the last three days have determined that our enemy must ingloriously fly, or come out from behind his defences, and give us battle on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him.

The operations of the Fifth, Eleventh and Twelfth Corps have been a succession of splendid achievements.

By command of

MAJOR GENERAL HOOKER.

S. WILLIAMS, Asst. Adjt. General.



MAJOR ROBERT W. PATTON.

Our cavalry now alarmed the rebel General Stuart, who, with his staff, started for Fredericksburg to report to Lee.

The position on Thursday evening was thus: Sedgwick and Reynolds, with the Sixth and First Corps, with Gibbon's Division of the Second Corps, were holding the bulk of Lee's army at Fredericksburg. Hooker, with four corps, and Sickles' Corps near by, lay at Chancellorsville, with only the rebel General Anderson's troops, who had been guarding the fords, in front of him.

Lee was thus far unable to fathom the designs of his antagonist and was severe in his condemnation of those upon whom he depended for information. Until after the arrival of Stuart on Monday evening he had no definite knowledge but then he saw his danger and immediately put his army in motion. He had the shorter lines and good roads to Chancellorsville, and his men and officers were familiar with the country.

The long delay by Sedgwick's forces in front of Fredericksburg led Lee to conclude that the attack would be made elsewhere, and he sent his entire army up to meet Hooker, except Early's Division and Barkdale's Brigade, about 12,000 men, who were left in the trenches to hold Fredericksburg against Sedgwick and Reynold's Corps and Gibbon's Division, more than 40,000 men.

One need not be skilled in military science to understand how completely Hooker seemed to have the rebel army under Lee at his mercy. No wonder the Union commander issued his enthusiastic order. Up to this time everything had progressed favorably for the Union army. It is probable Hooker entertained the idea that Lee would be compelled, not only to leave his strong position at Fredericksburg, but that he would retreat towards Richmond. His utter failure to meet him in battle could be best explained upon this theory.

On Friday morning, May 1, the First Corps and Hancock's Division of the Second Corps, advanced along the river and plank road almost to Banks' ford. The Twelfth Corps advanced to the plank road and massed near the Tabernacle Church, and the Eleventh Corps was ordered to the extreme right. All the remaining troops were massed near Chancellorsville.

BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE.

In making this advance our lines came in contact with Lee's army, coming up from Fredericksburg, and the battle opened. Hooker now seems to have determined that if

Lee did not retreat, he would take a defensive position and compel Lee to attack, therefore our columns were ordered back to the same position they occupied on Thursday, which was now fortified by breastworks and abattis, and awaited an assault.

It will be observed how the errors of the movement were now multiplying. The large force left in front of Fredericksburg did not prevent Lee from taking his main army out to defend it from the large flanking movement on his left. Stoneman's cavalry did not draw a regiment away from Lee, and it failed to destroy his communications. The splendid flanking army had met the enemy, and almost without a contest was put upon the retreat, and into a defensive position, and our two wings were separated by the enemy's holding Banks' ford.

The First Corps, under Reynolds, was now also ordered to join Hooker and it reached Chancellorsville on Saturday night.

A council of general officers was held on Friday evening and it was generally believed that our lines should have advanced beyond Chancellorsville and uncovered Banks' ford and thus placed the two wings within convenient communication. Nearly all favored making the advance again, and disapproved the retreat.

General Humphrey's opinion was that we should have attacked the enemy.

General Hancock declared it was a mistake to stop at Chancellorsville, and if we had gone on to Banks' ford the whole movement would have been a success.

General Warren, when he heard the order to retire, suggested that the Fifth and Second Corps delay until he would consult Hooker and explain the importance of holding the strong position, which had great tactical advantages, and Hooker yielded; but before Warren got back the troops had retired.

Every soldier who was with that advance will remember the feeling of confusion and disappointment occasioned by our withdrawal. The 131st Regiment had not yet been deployed and was marching by the flank when the order was received. The wilderness was so dense at that point that we could not countermarch and we were "about faced," and returned left in front; and we greatly wondered what it was all about!

In our new position Meade, with the Fifth Corps, held the line extending from the Rappahannock river to within a mile of Chancellorsville. Couch joined Meade's right, with

his Second Corps, Hancock in front of Chancellorsville, and French in reserve, along the United States ford road. Slocum, with the Twelfth Corps, was on his right, south of the turnpike; and Howard, with the Eleventh Corps, occupied the extreme right, as far west as the Wilderness tavern, on the turnpike.

On Saturday morning a portion of the Third Corps, Birney's Division, was placed between Slocum and Howard, and Sickles, with his other divisions, was placed in reserve at the fork of the roads to United States and Ely's fords. Pleasanton, with a brigade of cavalry, was near the Chancellor house.

When Hooker so unexpectedly withdrew from Lee's front on Friday, Lee and Stonewall Jackson held a conference at a point on the old road leading to Chancellorsville, which had been abandoned by our troops. They penetrated Hooker's design, which they correctly assumed was to await an attack and have the advantage of a chosen and fortified position. Their army was also divided, but they believed Early was holding a large part of Hooker's forces, and as Lee now held Banks' ford they could not quickly be brought to Chancellorsville. It would be unsafe to retreat; they must fight. The movement upon Howard's flank was proposed by Jackson. It would again divide their army, but it could not render their condition worse; it might succeed. If it failed the way was open to retreat south to one of the many strong positions open to them, where they could reunite and make a successful stand and be in better position than they were at Fredericksburg. Jackson's Corps was 26,000 strong. Lee would only have about 20,000 left to attack Hooker, but he would only pretend to do so, and he believed he could thus keep Hooker's large army inside of his entrenched position, until he heard the guns of Stonewall Jackson on his right flank. It will be seen what great peril Lee was in which Hooker's lieutenants on Friday evening urged an advance. Then Jackson himself would have been flanked by Meade's and Couch's advance down the river. If Hooker had advanced on Saturday morning he would have found Lee alone; with Jackson more than ten miles away on his long march to get into Hooker's rear, and the two wings would have been annihilated. But there was nothing else Lee could do. It was justified only by the desperate situation. It ought to have failed.

Before daylight Jackson was on the way. He marched west and south, then north until he had passed the turnpike and was abreast of Howard's flank, where he arrived about sunset.

He faced east and then began one of the most remarkable and fiercest battles of the war, and Stonewall Jackson was killed.

Jackson's movements were observed all day Saturday by our troops, and Hooker was kept informed of the passage of a large body of troops and trains to his right; but he no doubt believed it to be a retreat. General Sickles, who held the Union line next to Howard, requested and was permitted to move forward, but he was cautioned to be careful. His movements were therefore slow, but he fell upon Jackson's rear, and made some captures, but Lee's left was extended to arrest the pursuing column, whilst Lee also kept up a continuous fire upon Hooker's left wing near the Chancellorsville front, to keep him in his trenches until Jackson had gained his rear, which they hoped would compel Hooker's retreat by surprise.

On Saturday morning when the movement to the right was reported, Hooker visited Howard's position, which was then strengthened and Howard was cautioned about a flank attack, but later when Sickles advanced, General Hooker was evidently looking only for a front attack or a retreat; and all day the unvarying report was that "the enemy is retreating towards Culpepper." Howard's line was now weakened by the withdrawal of Barlow's Division, which, with Sickles' absence, created a gap of a mile or more on Howard's left. Hooker visited Sickles and the two concluded to allow the enemy to develop his plan and if it was a retreat they would attack the column at the proper time. If it was a flank movement, they would let it develop and then fall between the two wings and beat them in detail. Fatal delay!

From Chancellorsville westward the two roads, the pike and plank roads, are united as far out as to Howard's position. There they again fork and Jackson was across these forks where he faced east and his infantry was concealed in the wilderness, whilst his artillery had good roads upon which to approach. At 6 o'clock Howard's Corps were preparing their supper and had dismissed all expectations of battle for that day. But 26,000 rebels, driven to desperation, were in solid columns on their flank, and the bugle calls for the assault were the first warnings to alarm the unprepared Union line. Then the rush and the heavy roll of infantry fire came and Howard's Corps were sent pell mell down the road and through the woods towards Chancellorsville. Howard and Steinwehr had been out to see Sickles, who was hunting Jackson, and was ready to fall upon his rear, when they returned to meet that wing's assault and to see the Eleventh Corps utterly flanked and driven out of

their works, which were now all useless. But the Union officers did not lose their heads. They set themselves to the task of arresting Jackson. The Eleventh Corps could not be justly blamed, for no troops in the world could have stood before the rebel veterans, under the circumstances, and no better fighting was ever done than was done in the successful effort to check Stonewall Jackson, which was done that night, aided largely and heroically by many of Howard's men, after the return of Sickles.

All the accidents of a great battle seemed to be against the Union general. Had Sickles not followed Jackson his magnificent corps would have been in the gap which enabled Jackson next day to unite with Lee. Or the Reserves near the headquarters, together with Sickles' Corps, could have rallied to Howard's defense. When Sickles learned that Jackson had flanked Howard and was in his rear he refused to believe it possible, but he quickly faced about and then he indeed found Jackson and he fell squarely on his flank and completely checked the advance of the rebels. It was at this point the eventful charge of Keenan's Cavalry, of the Eighth Pennsylvania, was made, which, though a sacrifice, was made to gain time for Sickles' attack. The artillery of the Eleventh Corps was rallied and with that of the Twelfth Corps sent their shot and shells with fearful destruction into Jackson's solid columns. A new line was now formed across Jackson's path—Geary, Williams, Whipple, Barlow and Pleasanton. Jackson falls behind the Eleventh Corps defences, to protect his right, but the Union guns are double shotted and Jackson's lines become a tangled mass and his advance is arrested and his column is in danger. His men hoist the stars and stripes. It is a ruse to stop the guns on his flank. Pleasanton sends forward an aid who is fired upon, but discovers the artifice and Sickles' whole line opens upon them and shatters the advance and leaves them in the darkness in a confused mass.

The movement of Lee's left, in support of Jackson, left a wide gap in his lines, of which no advantage is taken. Three Union corps were near by not engaged.

Jackson was now forced to withdraw his men in order to reform his lines, and he brought up A. P. Hill's Division to relieve them. It was in the lull of this fierce conflict that Jackson was wounded. Nearly all the Confederate writers claim that he was shot by his own men. If it is true that he went forward, in front of his lines, to reconnoitre our lines, with his staff, he did what is forbidden by all military authority, and is not creditable to his military reputation. But he did not do

that. The lines were in close proximity all along the Chancellorsville road, now occupied at many points by our men. It seems incredible that Jackson, with an escort, would venture there for that purpose. The firing was kept up and our cavalry was in the road. It is probable that Jackson received his wound from Union guns, and there were many others, on both sides, was in the road. It is quite as probable that Jackson received his wound from Union guns, and there were many others, on both sides, killed at the same time. Those same rebel authorities show that the firing was general, for when Jackson was carried away they were again fired upon, and several of the party were killed and wounded. In view of the positive statements made by Union officers who assert that their men fired upon the advancing mounted men, it must be regarded as problematic, at least, by whose fire the great general was lost to the rebel cause. An officer of the 122d Pennsylvania Regiment made this entry in his diary that night: "At about 10 o'clock p.m. a body of mounted men were seen coming down the road. They were allowed to approach within close range, whereupon the men in Birney's line opened fire upon them, killing Stonewall Jackson and wounding several of his staff. This distinction is also claimed by the men of the Eighth Pennsylvania Cavalry." The rumors which spread among the troops that night were all to the effect that our troops had killed their rebel leader.

In one of the histories of Jackson, by a rebel author, entitled "Old Jack and His Foot Cavalry," I find the following:

"General Hill galloped hastily up, flung himself from his saddle, and choking with emotion, began to cut the clothes from Jackson's arm, when suddenly four Federal vedettes appeared on horseback, and were fired upon by the staff officers. They fell back upon a strong line of Federal skirmishers advancing. General Hill and all the officers of both staffs and the carriers had no alternative but to mount and ride for their lives, leaving Jackson in the road where he lay. Right over the ground where was stretched the wounded lion, the Federals advanced. Within their grasp lay the mightiest prize, the most precious pearl, in the Confederate crown. But it was not destined that Stonewall Jackson should be struck by a Federal bullet, or yield himself prisoner to a Federal soldier."

Sickles attacked again, about midnight, with his line extending from near Hazel Grove, facing westward and northward, beyond the turnpike. He drove Jackson's men back nearly to our original lines, and captured about 400 prisoners and

recovered our lost artillery and trains. The rebels were now commanded by A. P. Hill, who was also wounded, and the command fell upon Stuart. Slocum was not aware that Sickles was to advance and Williams' Division sent a volley into his lines. But Jackson's Corps was halted.

On Sunday morning Stuart had rectified his lines for an attack to unite his forces with Lee if possible. His line extended from Howard's old position facing south and east, across the Chancellorsville road towards Hazel Grove and Fairview.

Reynolds, with his First Corps, had arrived on Saturday evening and was placed in reserve, north of Chancellorsville. The Eleventh Corps had been placed in the trenches thrown up by the Fifth Corps, on our left, and the Fifth Corps was sent to our extreme right, on the Mineral Spring and Ely's ford roads. The members of the 131st Regiment will recall our movement through the broken columns of the Eleventh.

On Saturday night Hooker had also ordered Sedgwick and Gibbon to capture Fredericksburg and pursue the enemy and fall upon Lee's rear on Sunday morning.

Geary, of the Twelfth, and Hancock, of the Second, were in front of and to the right of Chancellorsville, and French to the east, connecting with the Mineral Spring road and Howard's Corps.

Surely, if these forces fall upon Lee's army, thus divided into three detachments, he must be crushed, if he does not retreat.

Hooker did not hear Sedgwick's guns in the rear of Lee, Sunday morning, and he was further alarmed by the fierce assault made by Stuart early in the morning, whose force was larger than Sickles', and the higher ground which he now occupied enabled him to send his shells and solid shot clear down upon Chancellorsville, into Hooker's headquarters. Instead of promptly meeting this attack with his whole line, Hooker gave orders to withdraw to an inner line, and thus it came about that during the fiercest of that morning's battle the rebel lines were trying to drive Sickles and his supports, and Hooker's orders were not only withholding reinforcements, but were withdrawing the lines, and thus opening the way for a union of Jackson's Corps with Lee and their victory over Sickles. In the midst of the struggle General Hooker was disabled by the explosion of a shell as he was standing under the heavy columns of the Chancellor house portico, and for a while all orders ceased, except the fatal order to retire.

It will be seen here again how the accidents of the battle seemed to be against the Union army. There were three Union Corps lying near by not engaged. Sickles sent order after order for reinforcements, but they were not sent. Hooker was disabled, but did not relinquish command. There were no orders, except the one already issued to withdraw. The gallant Berry, who was commanding Hooker's old division, was killed. They had almost succeeded in driving back the enemy. General Revere, who succeeded him, gave orders to retreat, but he was relieved at once by Sickles and his troops recalled. He was subsequently court martialed, but was permitted to resign. General Stevens succeeded General Revere, but he also fell and the division was compelled to fall back.

The Second Corps was now obliged to fall back, under cover of the Fifth Corps, and the enemy's shells set fire to the Chancellor house, and our lines fell back to the new position. The woods were also set on fire where Berry had made his gallant stand and the Union and rebel wounded and dead were strewn thickly upon the ground. Thus outnumbered and defeated, Sickles and his supports, after one of the fiercest struggles of the war, were compelled to yield the field to the enemy, who, exhausted and with leaders gone, proudly occupied the ground at about noon of that sorrowful Sunday.

"As long as the history of this war shall be read, conspicuous upon its pages will be the record of the achievements and the sacrifices of the Third Corps (and its supports) in the Wilderness and at Fairview."

GENERAL HUMPHREY'S REPORT.

General Humphrey's report of the battle thus briefly states what part was taken in this Sunday's battle in support of Sickles. * * * "By General Meade's direction I examined the position commencing at Chandler's house (the white house), and running along the Mineral Springs road to the Rappahannock, and immediately occupied the left of that position, which commands the approaches to the United States ford by Motts, or the river road and its branches. The next day, May 2, Saturday, before midday, the position was entrenched; three roads under cover were opened, communicating with as many to the ford, and twenty-six pieces of artillery—Randol's, Martin's and Hazlett's Batteries, on the left, and Barnes' and Phillips' on the right, were placed in position, rendering it impossible for the enemy to debauch from the woods on the high open plain (Child's farm) opposite the heights occupied by my division.

These facts are highly creditable to the zeal and energy of the officers and men of the command. The enemy's mounted pickets were visible along the edge of the woods, about 1,000 yards distant, where the river road debauches from the woods. I, having been directed by the major-general commanding the Fifth Corps, to ascertain whether the enemy was in force in my immediate front, Colonel Francine, of the Seventh New Jersey sharpshooters, was ordered to send out fifty men to reconnoitre. This duty was handsomely performed. The enemy's infantry pickets were ascertained to commence on the river road, a mile and a half below our left, and to extend obliquely from our line to the plank road. Before daylight on the morning of the 3d, I received orders to march my division to the vicinity of the junction of the Mineral Springs road, (moving along the front occupied by the Fifth Corps on the 2d) with the road from Chancellorsville to Ely's ford, leaving the artillery in position and a staff officer to point out the details of the position to the troops; but just as my column was put in motion the head of that of the Eleventh Corps made its appearance, and I received orders not to move until I was relieved by that corps. As soon as Major General Shurtz had relieved me, about 10 minutes past 6 a. m., I marched and massed my division in rear of the centre of Griffin's Division on the Ely's ford road, being instructed to support Griffin, Sykes and French, on the left of Griffin, as the circumstances might require. At about 8 o'clock Allabach's brigade was moved to the woods intervening between Chandler's house and Chancellorsville, the ground previously occupied by French (and Berry) and engaged with the enemy in the woods in our front. At about 9 o'clock I received orders to send a brigade to support General French and I directed General Tyler to support him. He had scarcely moved into position when the enemy in strong force opened fire upon him. It was returned with spirit, and a warm engagement ensued, which was continued for an hour, when the enemy in increasing numbers, began to flank the right. The greater part of the sixty rounds of ammunition had by this time been nearly expended and General Tyler asked for a new supply, (which could not be sent), and he was directed to withdraw when his ammunition was expended, which he did soon afterwards, with a total loss of ten officers and 229 enlisted men. Among the officers wounded, I regret to mention Col. E. M. Gregory, Ninety-First Pennsylvania, seriously, and Maj. Joseph Anthony, severely. At about 11 o'clock I received orders to place two regiments of Allabach's Brigade at the disposition of Major-General Couch, commanding the Second Corps, and one

of his staff officers, at the same time requested me to place them perpendicularly in the Chancellorsville road, one on each side, and advance them to the edge of the wood bordering the open ground of Chancellorsville, then held by the enemy. The object was to hold the enemy in check until the two corps of Major-General Couch and Major-General Sickles were placed in the new position. This duty fell to the 133d and 155th Pennsylvania Regiments, who, under the command of Colonel Allabach, advanced, their skirmishers engaging those of the enemy, to the ground they were directed to occupy. Upon their near approach to it the enemy opened upon them with shot and shell and canister. The new position of the two corps having been taken up the two regiments retired slowly, through the wood and rejoined their brigade, having performed the duty in a creditable manner, losing one officer (Adjutant Edward C. Bendere, 133d,) and three enlisted men, killed, and one officer and thirty enlisted men wounded."

In the new line the Fifth Corps was massed on the right, in support of either the First Corps, Reynolds, or the Second Corps, General Couch, on our left. Before continuing the account of the battle let us briefly recall the part thus taken by the 131st Regiment. When we threw up those entrenchments on the left, along the Mineral Spring road, much of which was done by the bayonet for a spade, we felt enthusiastic as we looked upon the little ravine before us and the rebels beyond, and felt that we had secured a strong position upon which to battle. We did not know what was going on around us. We can recall our amazement when we heard of the battle on the right and our retirement from the works to about-face to the north. There was little rest for us that night and in the early morning we moved forward through the broken columns of Howard's Corps, who had been ordered into our entrenchments. They were dispirited but not dismayed, and they would, in their new position, no doubt, have rendered as good service as any other soldiers of the army.

When we were ordered in to the support of our struggling and overmatched columns on Sunday morning we were placed in what is the hardest position soldiers can know during a battle—that of being in its midst, the noise and tumult and danger, and the dead and wounded on every side, but ourselves inactive and looking on.

Tyler's Brigade and two of our regiments came into fierce contact, but the 131st was too far to the right and with only a few wounded by shells, did not fire a gun. It was when in this

position, near the white house, when in line of battle we lay in the little peach orchard, close upon the ground, the men sheltering themselves behind their knapsacks, or stones or logs, or any other available protection—Private Grove says he had an iron kettle—that the final struggle was taking place for Chancellorsville. The 131st was on the right of our line. An officer with orders inquired for Colonel Allabach. He was directed to the woods where that officer was engaged with the left of our line. A shell passed so near his head that his horse wheeled about violently and the officer lost his hat, whilst the shell buried itself in the ground, but did not explode. One of our men picked up the hat and with a polite salute he rode off, with apparent indifference, into the *melee* in the woods.

The rebel troops, the left of Jackson's corps, which extended north to the turnpike, were severely handled and we witnessed the capture of a large number of rebels. A park of artillery, about forty guns, had been quickly gathered by General Meade and the horses were withdrawn, and the guns unlimbered for action.

“Ah! what a sound will rise—how wild and dreary—
When the death-angel touches those swift keys!
What loud lament and dismal *miserere*
Will mingle with their awful symphonies.”

We did not wait long. Sickles' right was falling back, and the rebels, no longer in columns, rushed forward in a tangled mass. They were near the spot where Jackson fell and they were firing the rebel heart with cries of “remember Jackson.” As they emerged in the opening in front of the white house, all those “swift keys” began to play, and their column was shattered, and after a hand to hand conflict with the infantry they were driven back, a large number of prisoners were taken and a Union regiment was retaken, and our lines were maintained. Then the ever recurring order to “fall back to the new position” finally left the ground to be occupied by the enemy.

Of this movement General Meade says:

“I detached Allabach's Brigade of Humphrey's Division, to occupy the woods between Chandler's white house and Chancellorsville until all the troops were withdrawn within the shorter line to be occupied. In the meantime I collected all the available batteries under the immediate command of Captain Weed, chief of artillery of the Fifth Corps, and placed them in position around the white house to cover the withdrawal and check the advance of the enemy. This duty was most successfully accomplished.”

The point held by the 131st became the front angle of our new line, around and in front of the white house. This new line had been carefully prepared by General Warren and Captain Comstock. The apex was at the white house. The left extended to the river along the Mineral Springs road, and the right lay in advance of and along the river to Ely's ford. Sickles, Couch and Meade held the front, Reynolds the right and Slocum and Howard the left. The position was almost impregnable and covered completely the roads to the United States ford. It would have been quite impossible for General Jackson, or both Lee and Jackson, to have made a successful attack upon these troops, most of whom had not been engaged.

One of the most complete reviews of the Chancellorsville battle is by Gen. Theodore A. Dodge, United States Army, in his book entitled, "The Campaign of Chancellorsville." In reference to the situation at this point that author says:

"Hooker still had in line at Chancellorsville 80,000 men. Lee had not exceeding half that number. But every musket borne by the Army of Northern Virginia was put to good use; every round of ammunition was made to tell its story. On the other hand, of the effective of the Army of the Potomac, barely a quarter was fought, *au fond*, while at least one-half the force for duty was given no opportunity to burn a cartridge to aid in checking the onset of the elated champions of the south."

If Reynolds' eager and fresh corps had been thrown upon Jackson's left flank when he was so hard pressed by Sickles on his right flank, the victory would have been on the Union side. At the same hour a portion of the Fifth Corps and all of Howard's and Slocum's Corps had Lee's left wing within their power.

General Dodge says: "Instead, then, of relying upon the material ready to his hand, Hooker conceived that his salvation lay in the efforts of his flying wing under Sedgwick, some fifteen miles away. * * * *

"And this is not alone for the purpose of vindicating the fair fame of the Army of the Potomac and its corps commanders, but truth calls for no less. And it is desired to reiterate what has already been said, and it is in appreciation of Hooker's splendid qualities as a lieutenant, that his inactivity in this campaign—after Thursday—is dwelt upon. No testimony need be given to sustain Hooker's courage; no man ever showed more. No better general ever commanded an army corps in our service. This is abundantly vouched for. But Hooker could not lead a hundred thousand men; and, unlike his predecessor, he

was unable to confess it. Truth awards praise and blame with equal hand, and truth in this case does ample justice to the brave old army and to Hooker's noble aids."

It is said that Napoleon was of the opinion that he and the Archduke Charles were the only men in Europe who could successfully manœuvre 100,000 men. He considered it a very difficult thing. Probably only a few men in one age are born who are capable of doing so.

The plan devised by Lee and Stonewall Jackson in their desperation on Friday evening, had thus far been successful—but not entirely, and at fearful cost. Jackson and Hill were lost to him; and his losses in killed, wounded, prisoners and guns were large and could not be replaced. A few days later, before Jackson died, Lee sent this dispatch:

"Could I have directed events, I should have chosen, for the good of the people, to have been disabled in your stead." Jackson died May 10th from the wounds received in battle. The death of Jackson was communicated to the Union Army in the following telegram:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
May 12, 1863.

Richmond papers of yesterday announce the death of Stonewall Jackson from wounds received in the late battle.

DANIEL BUTTERFIELD,
Major General and Chief of Staff.

Hooker was wounded and had not heard from Sedgwick's column.

Lee at last heard the sound of battle in his rear. He learns that Sedgwick and Gibbon have taken Fredericksburg and Sedgwick is marching towards Cancellorsville, and Gibbon is holding the city, and he looks anxiously in that direction. Will his weary columns yet be crushed between those two armies? Must he now retreat southward? It seems like the irony of fate that made Generals Newton and Brooks the captors of the stone wall.

He is aware that Hooker did not use his forces thus far in the campaign, and he trusts that he will await an attack in his last new position. He will leave Stuart's weary columns face about and fall upon Sedgwick and crush him, whilst Early recaptures Fredericksburg, and then he will return to Hooker's front. He decides upon the venture. Leaving the shattered Jackson Corps with Stuart, now numbering only some 19,000 men,

to keep Hooker with his 80,000 in his breastworks, he took the remainder of his army against Sedgwick and on Monday morning was before Salem Church, bent upon crushing him there. Early, thus relieved, fell upon Gibbon on Fredericksburg heights on Monday morning, and compelled his withdrawal from the city to the north side of the river before night and his pontoons at the Lacy house were taken up.

Sedgwick, seeing his danger, with Early in his rear and Lee in front, now opened communication with Banks' ford, as a possible outlet in case of disaster. He had scarcely 20,000 men left to confront Lee with 25,000. His forces were so disposed as to guard all approaches, and Lee prepared to assault him there. When Hooker learned of the recapture of Fredericksburg he became alarmed for Sedgwick and ordered him to cross to the north side of the river; but, later, he determined himself to follow Lee on Tuesday morning and countermanded the order. But the accidents of battle were again most unfortunate for the Union side and the last order was not received by Sedgwick until his last columns were on the pontoons. Had Hooker advanced, the two wings would have crushed Lee, or would have compelled him to retreat, an event which Lee had provided for in his orders to Stuart, who was left in front of the Union Army. Lee's failure to crush Sedgwick, between his forces on one side and Early's on the other, was severely criticised by the southern press as a great blunder.

The losses of General Sedgwick's column at Fredericksburg and Salem Heights, during the two days' engagements, were reported as being 4,925, killed, wounded and missing. He captured five flags, fifteen guns and 1,400 prisoners and lost no material.

It will be seen Hooker did not advance to relieve Sedgwick and now Lee again held the south side of the river, from Chancellorsville to Fredericksburg, as before Hooker's advance began, with Hooker's main army in an entrenched position near the United States ford, and Sedgwick and Gibbon on the north side of the Rappahannock, near Banks' ford and Fredericksburg.

On Monday evening, May 4, a conference was called and all the corps commanders, except Sickles, favored an immediate advance upon Lee. General Hooker suggested a recrossing and with the entire army attack at Fredericksburg, or Franklin Crossing, as Burnside had done.

But Sickles urged that there was no need of taking hazards. The political situation, he reasoned, was such that a defeat

would be disastrous. The work of the enemies, at home and abroad, might be fatal, and, whilst the military reasons for an advance seemed to be sound, yet the immediate success of the Army of the Potomac was secondary to the avoidance of disaster. Other difficulties also began to arise. The "accidents" were again against us. The heavy rains threatened a flood in the river and endangered Hooker's communications. The operations of the cavalry raid had not seriously affected Lee, and his communications had scarcely been broken. Hooker, therefore, again changed his mind and now resolved to retire on Tuesday night to his old camps.

Stoneman's cavalry raid was the greatest thus far made and sent consternation, for a time, throughout the Confederacy. His raiders penetrated to within a few miles of Richmond. But the column was divided into small detachments and the main purpose was not accomplished. The force sent to break up the railroads was too small, and although they reached both the Fredericksburg & Potomac and the Central railroads, and tore them up, yet reinforcements were sent over them to Lee, and his wounded were carried to Richmond, the road having been restored without much interruption.

A thorough destruction of Lee's line of supplies and retreat, at the time Hooker intended should be accomplished by the cavalry, would, possibly, have compelled Lee to retreat from Fredericksburg; and, later, when Sickles fell upon Jackson's flank, and when Sedgwick had taken Fredericksburg, had Stoneman's cavalry appeared in Lee's rear, Hooker would doubtless have moved upon his front, and the result could not have been other than the flight of Lee or the destruction of his army. Lee's subsequent correspondence with the Richmond authorities clearly indicates that he contemplated this as a probable result.

During Tuesday, the 5th, General Warren and Captain Comstock, of the engineers, prepared a new and shorter line, in the rear of the line then held by the army, to secure it from any attack the enemy might make. A continuous cover and abattis was constructed from the Rappahannock, at Scott's Dam, around to the mouth of Hunting creek, on the Rapidan. The roads were put in good order, new ones cut through the woods, and a third bridge was put down, over the Rappahannock. The part taken by General Humphrey's Division on Monday and Tuesday, is set forth in his report, from which I again quote:

"Before daylight, on Monday, the 4th, I received orders

to support Major-General Sickles, on the left, in a certain contingency; and immediately opened a route for my division through the thick underbrush, to the ground I should occupy in such a contingency. During the day, I likewise received direction to support Major-General Reynolds, commanding the First Corps, on the right, and opened a similar route to the rear of his position. On the morning of the 5th, Tuesday, the pioneers of my division, and subsequently two regiments of it, were detailed for fatigue duty with the engineers of the army in constructing entrenchments and opening roads. These regiments rejoined the division about midnight. In the afternoon, by direction of Major-General Meade, I formed Allabach's Brigade in line of battle, 150 yards in rear of Sykes' left, and Tyler's Brigade 100 yards in rear of Allabach's. My instructions were, in the event of the enemy entering the entrenched line, to charge with the bayonet. This position my division held until the march to the United States ford began. At nightfall two regiments were detached to aid the passage of the artillery as far as the ford. One of these regiments rejoined the division on the march and the other at the ford. At about 1 o'clock a. m., on the 6th, my division commenced the march to the United States ford, but it was halted and massed on the right of the road, after marching one mile. At daylight the march was resumed and a position taken up at the ford, the left resting on the brick house on the Mott, or river road, and the right on the outbuildings of the United States ford road. In this position it remained until Griffin's Division took up a position in its rear, when my division crossed the Rappahannock, by the upper bridge, simultaneously with Sykes' Division on the lower bridge, and marched to our old camps, which it reached before dark."

This concise statement by General Humphrey is characteristic of that thorough soldier, but these events were full of intense interest to his men, and may well be amplified in these pages, now that those mysterious movements, which so much puzzled us then, are revealed to us.

We could not comprehend the movement of Sunday. We heard the battle in the rear of Lee and that Fredericksburg had been captured. We knew that the flanking column under Jackson had been arrested, we heard the shouts of our men, and it was rumored that Jackson had been killed; but we were told that the entire army under Lee was now between the two wings of the Union Army, and it would crush Lee when the changes of position were completed. It was a busy day. Strong lines

of field works and numerous roads, connecting our various lines, were constructed and the operations were continued day and night. Our shifting positions indicated preparations for a renewal of the battle, so little is known to the men of what is going on in so large an army.

It was during the Sunday battle when we were sent in to the support of the Third Corps, with a portion of the Second Corps, on the right of French's Division, that Private Grove had his knapsack shot from off his back by a shell, as he lay behind an iron kettle. "listening to the boom, boom, and waiting for the yi yi's"! Privates Phares Blett and George Martin, of Company F, and Joseph Long, of Company G, and Hiram Smith, of Company D, were wounded, and thirty-five men from other regiments of the brigade. The total loss in the division was ten officers and 229 enlisted men. The new adjutant of the 133d Regiment, who had just succeeded Adjutant Noon, killed at Fredericksburg, was killed at this time. The severe thunder storm occurred on Tuesday. The newly constructed trenches had just been occupied, and the rebels in front of us could be clearly seen in their works. The rain fell in torrents and our ditches began to fill with water, which soon became a roaring torrent. All along both lines the men, Union and rebel, were seen to get out, like so many drowned rats, from their shelter; but on both sides they stood to their posts, their guns "secured" under their great coats, and the colors dripping and dragged. We could see the rebels, whose lines on the side hill were even in worse plight than ours. They occupied a part of the line which we had previously held, and empty cracker boxes, relics of an issue of rations, were strewn thickly along the line. These were worked into their trenches and went pell mell down the hillside, presenting a ludicrous scene; and the rebels with their colors and mud-covered ranks stood before their trenches, and thus we grimly faced each other until the storm ceased, when both sides dropped into their lines as best they could.

After dark heavy details were made from the regiment to throw up new lines, and to aid the artillery in moving over new roads, and through the mud, as we thought, to take position for the battle. I remember a call from the adjutant who wanted a trusty lieutenant to take charge of a detail, for a hazardous duty. I called Lieutenant Fichthorn and I can see his manly form as vividly now as when he quickly responded and received the order. He was to take a heavy detail, with picks and spades, and at an exposed point was to throw up a new line in front of the line then held. He was fearless of danger and al-

ways quick to respond to every call of duty. Buckling his sword a little tighter, and with a twinkle in his always merry eye, just a little brighter, he grasped my hand and, with a "Good-bye, Captain," which he emphasized with a significant shrug, which seemed to say "farewell," he was off to his detail. The rain kept pouring and it was hoped that advantage might be taken of it to secure the position desired in the darkness. Only a few armed men accompanied the men. But they had scarcely commenced digging when quick volleys of musketry, between our men and a similar body of rebels, sent out for a same purpose, put an end to the effort, and both sides fell back to their lines. Neither side could throw up new lines without bringing on a battle, for which they were not ready.

Captain Waream, of Company K, had a large detail constructing corduroy roads that night. It was with this detail that Diehl, of Company A, had his adventure, when he was ordered to be shot. The men engaged in these duties were wet and mud-covered, and terribly exposed, and our losses from the severe labors were greater than were those of some of the regiments in the thickest of the repulse of Jackson, or in the assault of the stone walls at Fredericksburg.

The 131st Regiment was one of those which were detached on Tuesday night to aid the artillery. Company A's place was along one of those new roads, in a dense woods, where we were stationed in squads not only to keep the batteries on the road, but to aid the floundering teams, if perchance any should go down, and thus obstruct the column. Lieutenants Kepler and Fichthorn were vigilant along both sides of our lines and it was hard at times to determine if they were swimming or wading; but we met often and a touch, on a mud-covered hat with a mud-covered glove, was the greeting, and the salute meant "All goes well, and isn't this fun?" and away they went into the darkness.

The pickets kept the enemy engaged and they did not discover that our movement was a retreat. An occasional shell was sent and a spurt on the outer lines kept both armies awake. I did not know that our army was moving towards the pontoons, as we were holding these outer lines, but confidently expected to be in the front line of an assault upon Lee as soon as morning dawned. When in the woods upon our detached duty I picked up a fine breech-loading rifle, with belt and cartridges, possibly lost by a cavalryman, and thought it might be serviceable in case of a personal encounter that night. I was holding it over my shoulder, with heavy end upwards, when I stepped

upon a root and was violently thrown into the mud and water. Sergeant Shriner was by my side and eagerly inquired if I had been hit. My firmament of vision was quickly illuminated with many bright stars, which I saw clearly! but the heavy end of my rifle helped to sink my face quite deep into the mud, yet I was soon able to assure the kind sergeant that I was not hurt. I looked but for a moment where my rifle was, when I remembered it was not for me to carry it—I had other duties—and I flung it away.

When day began to dawn, on Wednesday, the 6th, we soon all learned that our army was crossing the river at the United States ford. The Fifth Corps had been covering the retreat.

Before crossing the pontoons we were put to one of the severest tests to which we had yet been subjected. After we had just recovered from our surprise that we were not going into battle, and were massed near the river awaiting our turn to take the bridge, we were ordered about, to go to the front! All knew that our term of enlistment had already expired, and visions of home, and re-enlistments, and safety, had given renewed animation to the worn and dejected spirits and forgetfulness of the last ten days' struggle. But the order to "fall in" was obeyed; only a few of the ever faithful soldiers of Company A had then anticipated the orders to march for the bridge, and I did not have it in my heart to recall them, nor to hint that I had observed them. Some rebel fortifications had been left above the ford, and a detail of pioneers were destroying these and the rebels had sent a few shells against them. We went back about a mile, and our presence no doubt had the effect of keeping them back, and our columns were not molested, except by a few shells which did not reach us.

The river was very high and the flood endangered the safety of the bridges which rolled and swayed as the heavy columns were hurried over. The soft ground near the approach was "a sea of mud" through which, all night long, the army—infantry, cavalry and artillery—wended its way "to live and fight some other day."

Without attempting to enter upon the details of this campaign I have sought rather to indicate our associations in the operations and the character and extent of the services which we were permitted to perform.

General Humphrey thus testifies to his appreciation of the personality of the men and their valuable services:

"I cannot close this report without expressing my gratification at the fine spirit that animated my division throughout

the recent operations. Long marches, rapid movements, long-continued labor in opening roads and throwing up entrenchments, exposed to heavy and continuous rain, loss of rest, all combined, did not destroy their cheerfulness nor dampen their spirit. They exhibited the same courage in meeting the enemy that they had formerly shown; and this under circumstances that are recognized as unfavorable to the exhibition of the best qualities of troops. I refer to the fact that their term of service was about expiring. When in camp the officers and men have been zealous in their efforts to acquire a knowledge of the duties of a soldier. They have cheerfully performed every duty required of them, whether that of the working party, or armed service. They have been prompt and obedient, and have fought as well as the best troops at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville."

Major Patton commanded the 131st Regiment in this campaign, Lieutenant-Colonel Shaut having remained in the hospital near Falmouth. Lieut. A. D. Lundy, of Company I, performed staff duty with the brigade commander, Colonel Allabach, who made honorable mention of him in his report for distinguished services during the battle.

The 131st Regiment held the post of honor on the right of our brigade, and the 129th, Col. J. G. Frick's Regiment, the corresponding position on the extreme left of Tyler's Brigade. It will be remembered that this was the regiment in which occurred the unfortunate contention concerning the order for the procuring of dress coats, out of which grew the court martialing of both Colonel Frick and Lieutenant-Colonel Armstrong. It is in evidence that they did not lack the best qualities as soldiers in battle, as will be understood from the following extract from the report of Brig.-Gen. E. B. Tyler, commanding their brigade:

"The 129th Regiment was on our extreme left, and no man ever saw cooler work in field drill than was done by this regiment. Their firing was grand—by rank, by company, by wings, in perfect order. Colonel Frick's stentorian voice was heard above the din of musketry, and, with the aid of Lieutenant-Colonel Armstrong and Major Anthony, his regiment was splendidly handled, doing its duty well."

It will be seen the Fifth Corps, as at Fredericksburg, covered the retreat of our army. It was for this reason that we failed to realize that our movements on Tuesday and that night, were a retreat, as we were kept in front facing the enemy. The works thrown up that night were only occupied by the Fifth

Corps. General Hunt, chief of our artillery, said: "No opposition was made by the enemy, except by the attempt to place batteries on the points from which our bridges could be reached, and to command which I had posted batteries. A cannonade ensued and they were driven back with loss and one of their caissons exploded. We lost three or four men killed, and a few horses." It was in support of this movement that we were recalled just as we were ready to enter upon the pontoons.

The entire losses of the Fifth Corps were only 699, killed, wounded and missing.

The respective entire losses of the two armies, Union and rebel, during the campaign, were thus officially given: Union loss, 17,197; rebel loss, 12,277.

Of these 1,441 enlisted men and 165 officers were killed. In the Chancellorsville battles alone, from May 1 to 6, the killed were 118 officers and 964 enlisted men. The rebel loss did not include all their prisoners, and General Hooker reported that "we captured 5,000 men and fifteen colors, seven pieces of artillery and placed *hors de combat* 18,000 of the enemy's chosen troops."

Comparatively, the rebel losses were heavier than the Union losses. Our losses occurred mainly in the Sixth Corps, in the capture of Fredericksburg and the battle at Salem Church; and in the Third Corps under Sickles, in the assault on Jackson's flank and the attempt to prevent his reunion with Lee. These losses were, in the Sixth Corps, 4,601, in the Third Corps 4,039. All the other losses were distributed in the other five corps engaged, and cavalry, and it indicates how comparatively little they were brought into use.

The entire forces under Lee were brought into action, every corps, division and brigade, at both points of contact; and they exhausted their ammunition and their supplies. Hooker at no time delivered a general battle, and was outnumbered at every point of contact.

I visited the battlefield of Chancellorsville twenty years after the battle was fought, with a number of the comrades of the 131st. The old Chancellor mansion known to the men, had been destroyed by fire in the battle, but a wooden, or partly wooden and partly brick dwelling, in no respect like the old mansion, had replaced it. We were taken in carriages from Fredericksburg, and passed over the plank road and turnpike, through a beautiful country. The scars of war were still plainly visible on the walls of the little Salem Church, but elsewhere

nearly all traces were obliterated. There were pretty farms, better than any elsewhere seen in Virginia. We approached our lines from the rebel side and it was some time before we could get our bearings; but once at Chancellorsville we found little difficulty in locating the scenes of our part of the conflict. When we were in line of battle on Sunday, down in front of the white house, we were not very far from the woods in which Stonewall Jackson fell. The spot is along the pike west from Chancellorsville, less than a half mile, and was then marked by a large boulder; since permanently by a monument. This was also the locality where Keenan's charge was made and the scene of the battle of Saturday night and Sunday morning, to the right and left of the road, where Berry and Stevens and Whipple were killed. We also followed the Mineral Spring road to the river, and found the lines thrown up by the Fifth Corps. Private D. C. Hogue, of Company B, one of the visitors, found on the line occupied by the 131st, one of our bayonets, of a peculiar pattern, which he greatly prized as a relic and took it with him. I picked up one of our old tin plates, which I subsequently presented to Post 58, G. A. R., at Harrisburg, where it occupies a place in the interesting museum of that Post, properly labeled and catalogued. Fires, which occasionally run over the wilderness, had consumed the trees and wood used in our fortifications, and only here and there were those lines plainly traceable. I visited the scene where our division was engaged on Sunday and the little peach orchard, where we lay under fire, in the opening about the white house; also the vicinity of the junction of the Ely's ford and United States ford roads, the point so promptly taken by the Fifth Corps, when Howard's Eleventh Corps was flanked. Scarcely any traces were visible of the corduroy roads, as the timber was burned or decayed, and a new growth of forest covered them.

The ground in the vicinity of Hazel Grove, beyond Fairview and the old cemetery, is the highest point and was the key to the field. When these were abandoned on Sunday by General Hooker's orders, they were quickly seized by the enemy's artillery, after which Chancellorsville was untenable, and the divided wings of the enemy were united, to be again immediately separated to crush Sedgwick, who, just too late, appeared in the rear of Lee. The worn out troops of the Jackson column were left lying in Hooker's front, whilst the fresh columns, under the direct command of Lee, about faced and fell upon and overwhelmed the Sixth Corps, re-occupied Fredericksburg and then again returned and confronted Hooker in his entrenchments, but did not attack him.

The rain and floods—again the accidents of battle—now threatened Hooker's communications, and, unwilling to hazard unnecessary dangers, against the advice of all the corps commanders, except one, he withdrew, unmolested by his exhausted enemy.

Probably no battle of the war gave greater promise and offered greater opportunities, and none was more fruitless or misdirected than the battle of Chancellorsville.

The Union army retired to their old camps, so ruthlessly destroyed ten days before, and the huts and quarters were soon inviting, under the skill and industry of the troops, saddened, indeed, for the unreturning and suffering comrades, but no less hopeful of ultimate success.

All the official reports and correspondence, of both sides, pertaining to both the Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville campaigns, are published in the "Rebellion Records," the former in volume XXI, and the latter in volume XXV. Both these campaigns were also investigated by the Committee on the Conduct of the War, the proceedings of which, with full reports, were published in five volumes, among the Congressional documents.

General Hooker issued the following order to the Army of the Potomac:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
CAMP NEAR FALMOUTH, VA., MAY 6, 1863.

General Orders, No. 49: "The major general commanding tenders to this army his congratulations on its achievements of the last seven days. If it has not accomplished all that was expected, the reasons are well known to the army. It is sufficient to say they were of a character not to be forseen or prevented by human sagacity or resource.

"In withdrawing from the south bank of the Rappahannock before delivering a general battle to our adversaries, the army has given renewed evidence of its confidence in itself and its fidelity to the principles it represents. In fighting at a disadvantage, we would have been recreant to our trust, to ourselves, our cause and our country.

"Profoundly loyal, and conscious of its strength, the Army of the Potomac will give or decline battle, whenever its interests or honor may demand. It will also be the guardian of its own history and its own fame.

"By our celerity and secrecy of movement, our advance

and passage of the rivers were undisputed, and on our withdrawal not a rebel ventured to follow.

"The events of the last week may swell with pride the heart of every officer and soldier of this army. We have added new lustre to its former renown. We have made long marches, crossed rivers, surprised the enemy in his entrenchments, and whenever we have fought have inflicted heavier blows than we have received.

"We have taken from the enemy 5,000 prisoners, captured and brought off seven pieces of artillery, fifteen colors, placed *hors de combat* 18,000 of his chosen troops, destroyed his depots filled with vast amounts of stores, deranged his communications, captured prisoners within the fortifications of his capital, and filled his country with fear and consternation.

"We have no other regret than that caused by the loss of our brave companions, and in this we are consoled by the conviction that they have fallen in the holiest cause ever submitted to the arbitrament of battle."

By command of

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER.

S. WILLIAMS, Assistant Adjutant-General.

I take the following extract from the official report of General Meade, our corps commander :

"To my division commanders, Generals Sykes, Humphrey and Griffin, I have to return my thanks for their prompt and hearty support throughout the ten days' campaign.

"To the men under their command, I cannot adequately express the satisfaction with which I witnessed their ready and cheerful obedience to all orders, their submission to every privation and exposure—night marches in mud and rain, fording deep streams, using the axe and the spade even more than the musket, and ready at all times to go forward and meet the enemy. It is such service as this that tries and makes and proves the real soldier. I wish to bear testimony to the credit due the Fifth Corps for its services. The conduct of Sykes' Division, on the 1st of May, when in advance, on the old pike road, when they met and drove back, and then held in check the enemy's advance, of superior numbers, was a brilliant operation, adding to the already well-earned reputation of that gallant body of soldiers. So, also, to Tyler's and Allabach's Brigades of Humphrey's Division, to meet the advancing columns of the enemy, flushed with the success of having compelled our line to fall back, was in the highest degree creditable."

BACK TO THE OLD CAMP.

Again the two armies had resumed their operations in hostile camps around Fredericksburg, as before the battle. Hooker had been unsparing in his opposition to General Burnside, and his plan of battle, but he bore strong evidence in the latter's favor when he returned to Fredericksburg, and very emphatically, when he proposed to cross there and renew the battle.

The same vigils were kept up on our picket lines, and the same routine of camp duties were performed in camp, and the same rounds of varied pastimes were indulged in by all, save the 30,000 killed, wounded and missing, of both sides, who a few days ago were in these same camps with their comrades. Ah! the poor fellows. It was different with them. What next?

Burnside's plan of crossing at Fredericksburg, flanking Lee's position and fighting his army on the open grounds beyond, did not seem as impracticable to many officers of the Army of the Potomac as it once did; but those critics had been silenced by the orders of the President, in the first place, and finally sealed by the logic of events. Lee's army must henceforth be the objective. His losses he cannot replace. His towns and his strongholds are otherwise of comparative little importance. This was the lesson learned by the Army of the Potomac and the country. The effect upon the rebels was different. They were inordinately elated by their unexpected and undeserved success, and the reports of their officers indicate that they much underrated their enemy, and it led them to grief. The entire Confederacy was clamorous for an advance upon the North, and Lee was literally driven to believe that he could defy the Army of the Potomac, and transfer the war to Pennsylvania.

The defeats of McClellan's army on the Peninsula and Pope's army before Washington, caused by the prevailing demoralization among the officers, had misled Lee to take the offensive then, and his defeats at South Mountain and Antietam were his astonishing answers. So the battle of Gettysburg became the terrible penalty of his belief that he defeated Hooker's army at Chancellorsville, which he had not met in battle. Grant and Meade practically adopted the Burnside plan and unceasingly fell upon the rebel army wherever it took position, always in some stronghold, until the end came.

Hooker's seemingly inexcusable determination to retreat, before offering battle, was not so great an error as was Lee's purpose to advance and transfer the war to the North, which

proved an irreparable loss, based upon the inexcusable folly of believing his troops invincible.

The Christian and sanitary commissions, by their heroic and humane offices, wrote a glittering page upon the history of the war for the Union. I visited some of our hospitals, but was never sick a day, and was never an inmate, but the records, as they are now preserved in the reports of these commissions, should not be overlooked by the reader of the story of the slaveholders' rebellion.

In General Allabach's report of the battle of Chancellorsville he makes the statement that negro skirmishers were in the rebel columns in front of his brigade, when he engaged them in front of the Chancellor house.

GOING HOME.

Under the inspiring influences of the beautiful spring season our camps were improved, and the soldiers recovered from the effects of the toil, sufferings and exposure of the recent campaign. But orders from headquarters were read upon dress parade which fixed our term of enlistment and notice was given that the 131st should finally be mustered and their term of service would expire between the 9th and 20th days of May. Some correspondence followed this announcement and objection was made, as the orders of the War Department fixed upon the date of the muster in of the last company of a regiment, as the date for computing its term, for its final muster out. But it was not deemed important, as the men had not objected to remain for the battle of Chancellorsville, although many of them had then more than filled their term of service. The date of the enlistment of Company A was July 25, 1862, and the company was mustered into the United States service Aug. 6. and no company later than Aug. 14. It was the universal practice of the government throughout the war to muster out the troops promptly upon the expiration of their term of enlistment. "Three years, or the war" was decided to mean "not longer than three years;" and all those troops thus enlisted were promptly discharged at the expiration of three years. But a very large proportion of the officers and men who were mustered out soon re-entered the service, non-commissioned officers and privates afterwards recruiting companies and leading them successfully, and officers were commissioned to higher ranks and rejoined the army. In some instances entire regiments re-enlisted, with few exceptions, after a brief furlough.

Among the belated official notices which reached us was

one announcing the honorable discharge from the service of Private James Rohrabach, of Company A, who had long been absent from his company on account of illness. He was discharged for disability at the convalescent camp, Fairfax Seminary, Va., by Lieut.-Col. Samuel McKelvey, Dec. 9, 1862.

We also much regretted the discharge of Private Frank Wilson, Company A, on account of continued disability, at Camp Humphrey, near Falmouth, Va., which occurred on April 13th, by order of Major-General Meade.

Lieut. Grant T. Waters, of Company K, wounded at Fredericksburg, and long in the hospital with illness, was honorably discharged, on March 7. But our sick comrades also served their country.

"It was noble to give battle
While the world stood cheering on ;
It was nobler to lie patient
Leaving half one's work undone.

Right above the narrow bedside,
Where the wan, white face grew calm,
Bent invisible, bright angels
With the laurel and the palm !"

No pages of our war history are more intensely interesting than those which contain the annals of our prisons and hospitals ; no heroism is more inspiring than the story of the noble, patriotic and suffering soldiers, and the lofty devotion which was exhibited by those who ministered to their wants. No infamy is more deeply dyed with guilt than the story of the massacre of defenseless Union soldiers, and their starvation and pitiful death and sufferings in rebel prisons.

On the 13th of May Major Patton, commanding the regiment, was notified that the 131st Regiment was ordered to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to be mustered out, on account of the expiration of its term of service, and that a requisition for transportation be made at once. It was found that there were present 703 enlisted men and 34 officers, for which transportation was required, and for eight horses.

The last day and night was an occasion long to be remembered. The associations, so intense in their interest, the ties of comradeship, so tender yet so strong, were not to be flippantly severed. Those who thoughtfully looked out upon the old hills of Stafford, the distant steeples of old Fredericksburg, the hills and the flickering lights of the rebel camp fires beyond, and the gory battlefields where we left so many of our comrades, as they took their last look, doubtless sent forth mingled ejaculations of

hope, pity and curses, on account of the unparalleled crime of rebellion, and the "wayward sons" by whom it was brought about. But the soldier's better emotions prevailed and the heart was made tender when he looked out upon the great Army of the Potomac, covering hill and valley, up and down the banks of the beautiful Rappahannock, and reflected that that army would, sooner or later, capture and utterly defeat Lee and his army and restore our country. As we strolled on that lovely May evening we heard the mingled strains of "Yankee Doodle" from a band on our side, and "Dixie" from the other, and no doubt the hearts of thousands of soldiers on both sides, as they listened, were made tender as both played "Home, Sweet Home." This was succeeded by sounds of voices from the rebel camps, doubtless from some evening service by some faithful chaplain, who closed with the familiar tune of "Old Hundred." And from the camps of the New England boys down the river came the same mellowing sounds, but louder and clearer the tune of "America" was heard upon the soft spring breezes like a prophecy and a benediction. All these could be heard and seen, and were repeated upon both sides of the river, up and down for twenty miles, where these two great armies were going to sleep; and was it a wonder that a soldier felt the reluctance which, unbidden, overshadowed his spirits as he lingered and looked and listened to his last farewell to his army companions—and our work only half done! Officers and men alike seemed keen in their full appreciation of the event which was to take place on the morrow. Then the last "tattoo" sounded, and "lights out," and the 131st soldiers wrapped themselves in their blankets for the last time, as a regiment, and gave themselves—some to sad retrospection and tears; some to rapturous anticipation; some to cards, to song, to story and some to sleep:

"Sleep, soldiers, still in honored rest,
Your truth and valor wearing;
The bravest are the tenderest,
The loving are the daring,
They sang of love and not of fame,
Forgot was martial glory;
Each heart recalled a different name,
But all sang Annie Laurie."

Colonel Allabach now returned to the regiment. He did not assume command, however, as he considerably desired to honor Major Patton, who commanded the regiment so well during the campaign just ended, and also at Fredericksburg, and was justly popular with the men. Lieutenant-Colonel Shaut was directed to be carried to the railroad by ambulance,

and Major Patton to take charge of the regiment upon its return to Harrisburg. It was announced that a train would be in readiness and we would go to Aquia Creek that day, where a steamer would receive us, by which we would be conveyed to Washington City. Thus, on the 14th of May, 1863, we bid adieu to the Army of the Potomac.

There was nothing of interest to see on our way to the Potomac. Many of the men were deep down in the hold of the vessel and saw nothing on the way. The country lying between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers, down to the Chesapeake Bay, is known as the "Northern Neck," in the history of Virginia. Its colonial history was full of interest. It was the birthplace and early home of Washington, and at that time one of the best improved and most important sections of country; but now it was probably a representation of the other extreme. The very spot of such historical interest as the birthplace of the Father of his Country, was scarcely known and was marked only by a stone, as you would mark the boundary of adjoining farms. Here and there may be found remains of the old colonial homes, brick structures, the materials imported from England; but the degenerate sons of these colonial sires were over the river, fighting against the Stars and Stripes, for an upstart slave oligarchy, with a Confederacy which would make slavery the corner stone of the new national structure. Nature indeed had been lavish with this beautiful, low-land tidewater Virginia, and one could not help the intrusion of the thought expressed in the good old hymn:

"Where every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile."

Slavery not only degraded the poor victims, but it debauched the slave holders and impoverished the very soil, which was now waste and insect-infected and so forbidding.

The great bridge over the Potomac creek was pointed out as a matter of engineering skill, quite creditable to the efficiency of General Haupt, and his corps of engineers, who had charge of the railroads. It was constructed in six days, just before Burnside made Belle Plain and Aquia Creek the base of supplies, having twice before been burned by the rebels. The bridge was four stories high and seemed so frail that it could not bear the great trains which spun over it and made it swing and tremble.

All along the way were the camps of old soldiers of the Army of the Potomac. The passing to and fro of troops was

of such a common occurrence that there was little notice taken of their passing; but our boys were bidding "good-bye" to everybody and everything, and when it became known that our troops were returning home, it usually awakened some energetic recognition along the way.

"We remembered the drilling, the marching and fighting,
The camp life, the battles, the breastworks and all;
We remembered the "Johnnies," the bee hives and chickens;
Remembered the quinine, and the orderly's call.
But none were more welcome or longed for at night,
By sick, weary, worn and true loyal men;
For every one turned with a longing desire
To the little "pup" tent that sheltered us then.
The old shelter tent, the humble "dog" tent,
The little "pup" tent that sheltered us then."

I think nothing was forgotten, for they bid good-bye even to the "Johnnies" on the other side, and to the old picket lines, to the old army huts, to the old parade grounds, the company streets, the old tin plates, the pesky little rabbits and 'coons and "varmint" along the picket line, that used to scamper by and make as much noise as a rebel battery and cause the hair of the lonely sentinel to stand erect upon his head, until he found out what it was all about. Thus we passed out of sight and our regimental association with the army was ended.

The steamer was awaiting us and we were immediately transferred for the voyage up the Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac river to Washington. This was a new experience to many of the men and was keenly appreciated, although the crowded state in which we found ourselves was not calculated to bring about the greatest possible enjoyment of the ride. The river is wide almost as the bay, and little could be seen along either the Virginia or Maryland shores. There are no busy, thriving little towns or cities. Even from Fredericksburg down that beautiful, navigable stream, for more than 100 miles, there is not a city, and scarcely a settlement sufficient to entitle it to the name of a village. No wonder the assassin of Abraham Lincoln escaped to this forbidding, lonely, rebellious region, and hoped for safety and support. As we passed Mount Vernon the bell of the vessel was solemnly tolled, as is the custom for all war vessels in passing by the home of Washington, whose remains rest here in its quiet and peaceful shades. We soon after came in sight of Alexandria, where many of our number began their war records when the Union troops first passed into Virginia and occupied this city, when the gallant Ellsworth was sacrificed. We remembered how the beautiful groves were leveled and the grim forts were constructed;

how the rebel citizens heaped all kinds of indignities upon us; how we found the slave pens, still filled with victims, often the fruits of slave drivers' excursions north to enforce and illustrate the beauties and virtues of the "fugitive slave law;" how gaily we went forth in the early July of '61, on the march to Bull Run, and how we returned!

We also recognized the locality of our first service with the 131st Regiment. We had completed the circle—from near Alexandria out towards the vicinity and the sounds from the second battle of Bull Run—back to Washington, north to the Monocacy and to Frederick City, to South Mountain and Antietam, to Harper's Ferry, through Loudon Valley to Snicker's Gap, to Fredericksburg, to Chancellorsville, to Stafford Heights and the Potomac Creek, across the Northern Neck to Belle Plain and Aquia Creek and to the Potomac; and now we were nearing again our great capitol of the country, the safety of which had the second time necessitated the call for short term enlistments.

We reached Washington without accident or incident of especial interest, and remained only long enough for the transaction of some necessary official business pertaining to the closing out of division and brigade associations, and to secure transportation to Harrisburg. After a little delay this was provided and we were again upon that great military highway, the Northern Central railroad, under orders to go into camp at Camp Curtin, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where we would leave our arms and equipments and be duly mustered out of the service. Upon our arrival there we were furnished with tents and rations, and we immediately proceeded to make out our muster rolls, with full statement of accounts, preparatory to final payment and honorable discharge from the service of the United States.

Relieved from the exacting duties and the vigorous discipline of army life in the field, officers and men gave themselves over very freely to the inviting and peaceful social conditions of the capital of our native State. The officers had practically the freedom of the city and large liberties were indulged in by all the men.

There were seething hotbeds of iniquity in Harrisburg, as the outcome of her large consignments of recruits, as well as the great masses of passing soldiers who were detained for brief periods, without both the restraints of the army and of social life, which unfortunately made victims of some of the returning soldiers. But it must be said of the men of the 131st, who were

now at their homes, that few gave themselves over to the baser indulgences which so deeply disgraced the city of Harrisburg.

Many of the returning regiment had friends and acquaintances, of high social connection, and Harrisburg's fairer side of life, who will recall our stay there with keen gratification, as well as pardonable pride in the lofty patriotism of her people and the warmth of their affection for the men who had offered their lives in defense of our imperiled government.

The making up of the muster out rolls was hastened with all possible speed, but the accounting of the large stores and lists of supplies of arms and clothing, was necessarily a tedious and laborious effort. Delays, too, were occasioned by the absent, sick or wounded, who were returned to their regiment here, from all the various hospitals and camps, where these soldiers had been detained. They were sent here to be mustered out with their respective companies, and in some instances occasioned delay.

Many of the returning men while in Camp Curtin entered into arrangements to re-enter the service at an early day, some of the officers and others to join old regiments in the Army of the Potomac, and in all branches of the service.

On the 24th day of May the regiment had completed its rolls and the last company had been mustered out of service, when we were addressed by Governor Andrew G. Curtin, who welcomed us on our return and complimented officers and men for the service they had rendered the State and the Nation, and the satisfactory manner this service was performed by the 131st Pennsylvania.

Transportation having been provided, it was announced that next day the companies of the Juniata and the West Branch would take their respective trains for the several towns and cities for HOME.

[From the Mifflinburg Telegraph, May 28, 1863.]

WELCOME HOME.

RETURN OF THE 131ST PENNSYLVANIA VOLUNTEERS.

For more than a week everyone was on the *qui vive* and the absorbing topic was "the soldiers." Early on Monday morning, the 25th, a dispatch was received at Lewisburg announcing that Company A with the 131st Regiment, would leave Harrisburg at 11 o'clock a. m. The messenger bringing the dispatch arrived here at noon, too late for a general turn out



CAPT. CHARLES B. DAVIS,
COMMANDING COMPANY G.

of our citizens to go to Lewisburg, and but few from the upper end of the county received the intelligence till late at night, thus they were deprived of participating in the demonstration that all had resolved upon making when the "boys" should return. At Lewisburg everything indicated some glad some event. Public places were decorated with flowers and evergreens, everywhere the Stars and Stripes were flung to the breeze, the streets were crowded—all with a hearty welcome for the returning soldiers, sons, husbands and lovers:

"To the friends who smile to meet you ;
 To the homes which wait to greet you ;
 To the arms which long to press you ;
 To the hearts which love and bless you ;
 To your fathers, children, brothers ;
 To your sweethearts, wives and mothers—
 Welcome !"

At 6 o'clock, p. m., the wires announced the approach of the train at Montandon, and the ringing of bells and the cheering at the station indicated their arrival. The scene which followed baffles description. As soon as order could be restored Company A was formed and received the formal welcome address by Capt. C. C. Shorkley, who said:

"Returned volunteers: One of the greatest sources of wealth to a free government is the patriotism of the people. We have evidences of the truth of this fact, from the Revolution to the present time. We have with us soldiers of the war of 1812, whose patriotic impulses prompted them to sustain the Stars and Stripes at that time. We bring them here to-day, to do them honor for what they did for their country long ago. Nine months ago you turned your faces towards the enemy of our country, leaving many friends behind with tearful eye. Those tears were not shed so much on account of your departure, as for the fear that you might never return, for we knew the dangers to which you must be necessarily exposed on the battle-fields. You left your quiet homes and firesides to enter upon the active duties of a soldier and a military life, and to submit to military discipline. You have undergone the rigors of the camp and the hardships and privations of summer and winter campaigns. You have heard the booming of the enemy's cannon almost upon our own borders, at Antietam. Some of us who are here also heard it at the same time, but luckily for us, we were far enough off to be out of danger. You have witnessed the ravages and desolation brought about by the ruthless hand of war—fields made desolate and homes made tenantless. The thanks of all the people are due to those who volunteered to

protect us and our homes, and to sustain the majesty of this government.

"Soldiers, you heard the roar of cannon and musketry at Fredericksburg. You witnessed the smoke of the battlefield, and saw your comrades fall at your side. Yes, Fredericksburg will long be remembered by you, and should you in after years visit the Rappahannock you will drop a tear on its banks where your brave comrades so freely shed their patriotic blood, and died defending that old flag and this government. The reminiscences will be pleasant in after years. See those old men who defended this government long ago! Their locks are whitenend with age, and we honor them for what they have done. You will be remembered for what you have done to aid in suppressing this most unjust and unholy rebellion.

"You are tired, and I will not detain you longer. And now, in the name and in behalf of the citizens of Lewisburg, and of Union county, I welcome you home again, and trust that you will, from all, receive a hearty welcome."

Captain Orwig briefly responded to this cordial address, and expressed their gratitude to the vast assemblage and organized bodies, as follows:

"Friends: I would be false to the impulses of my own heart, and unjust to my command, if I did not respond to this truly warm and generous greeting.

"This indeed, far surpasses any anticipation, and, in behalf of the soldiers of the 131st Regiment here, I thank you for this 'Welcome home.'

"We have endeavored to do our duty, as soldiers, in the cause of the Union and in the defense of the right. We are glad that our conduct meets with your approval, in such an enthusiastic manner. Again, on behalf of the company and my comrades in arms, I thank you for this cheering reception."

The throng which had gathered again gave cheer upon cheer and then joined in the vast procession which made its way to Lewisburg. The organized bodies, marshalled by Captain Shorkley, were formed in the following order:

Marshall, C. C. Shorkley, and Aids, C. W. Schaffle, A. M. Lawshe; Color bearer and color guard; soldiers of 1812, Companys B and C, Third Regiment, minute men, as an escort; Company A, 131st P. V., the returning volunteers; Burgess and Council of Lewisburg; the Clergy; Court and County officers; members Union County Bar; Faculty and Students of Lewisburg University; Citizens; Cavalry.

As the column entered the streets of Lewisburg the soldiers' pathway was literally strewn with flowers, and streets and residences were covered with flags and bunting, and loud and long were the acclamations of joy and welcome which everywhere greeted the returning heroes.

The procession passed up Market street as far as Fifth street, and countermarched until the column reached the great willow tree at the Strawbridge mansion, near Third street.

The President of the University, Rev. Dr. Curtis, was announced as the speaker chosen to address the vast assemblage and formally welcomed our soldiers home in the following address:

"Gentlemen: At this late hour there is but one word that needs to be said, or can be said. It matters little by whom it is pronounced, for it is in every heart, and expressed by the large assembly here present in every look and gesture. That word is WELCOME!

"You went out at a time of a great crisis, to assist in crushing the most gigantic and wicked of all rebellions recorded in history. While you have been gone, fighting bravely in the field, the tide, it seems to me, has in many respects completely turned, and your labors have been contributing to turn it. When you went, for instance, it appeared to be a matter of serious doubt whether a free government like ours, without the aid of foreign capital, could continue a great struggle like the present pecuniarily. Europe and her capitalists and politicians said and believed that we must break down. In this respect at least the tide has turned, the crisis has passed, and we can borrow, and are borrowing, from our own citizens, two million dollars per day with the greatest ease.

"Fortunately, too, we are slowly but steadily gaining in the rebellion. Our cavalry raids sweep through the very heart of the most rebellious districts of Mississippi, and your train brings the news of the probable capture of the heights around Vicksburg, if not Vicksburg itself.

"The struggle of the last nine months has established the permanence and authority of the government, the independent right of nations, and strengthens the cause of liberty in public sentiment throughout the globe. It is, and has been from the first, one of the greatest struggles of history, and your friends, all of them—your wives, mothers, sisters and children, down to

distant generations—will remember and speak with pride of the part you have taken in the war, in which every true soldier has covered himself with glory.

“When this war began there were but few—I can hardly think of more than one—who fully and yet properly conceived of the gigantic proportions this contest might and must assume. I allude to my distinguished friend, Gen. Simon Cameron, who is, I am happy to know, here present. But there is not one of you, gentlemen, and brave soldiers, but who saw in this struggle enough to fill your souls and fire your hearts, and call you to put your lives in your hands, and, leaving everything most dear to you on earth, go forth to take part in the dangers, and the honor of stemming the current of rebellion, and turning the tide of our national affairs. For such now there is but one word to be pronounced—‘WELCOME!’”

Long continued cheering for the speaker, for General Cameron and for Company A followed this timely address by President Curtis.

Captain Orwig was again called for and was conducted to the stage and introduced, and made acknowledgement of their appreciation of these honors in the following remarks to the vast assemblage and distinguished friends:

“Friends: I can only say that this is indeed a flattering manifestation and no words that I can command can express our appreciation and our feelings of joy and gratitude, for all this is overwhelming. I can but believe it is rather the great cause we represent, than anything we have done, or could do, that has brought here such masses of friends and created such enthusiasm.

“Coming as we do, so lately from the battlefields and the seat of war, it swells our hearts to see the gloriously loyal spirit which moves the great masses at home. I can assure you, however, that you but share the feelings of our comrades in arms. There can be no more cause for fears of an inglorious compromise with treason, nor of failure to restore the Union. I see that the people are but rising in their majesty, and we see the enemy quaking with thick thronging disasters. There is still a line of brave lads and strong leaders, strong in numbers, encircling the Confederacy, and strong in the righteousness of their cause and their arms, of whom we need not fear for final success. They are not tired of the war, but they will plant that flag over every state of our Federal Union.

“Though we return to you, it is not because we are tired of

the war, nor of battling for our country. Many of these men were out in the three months' service, and I speak knowingly when I say, for every one of our number, that we are ready, even now, should the condition of our country necessitate another call for soldiers, to respond to its call and to continue to fight her battles to victory. Though suffering much and enduring many hardships and dangers, we still remember that we owe all we have to our country. Only the remembrance of those of our numbers who went forth with us so hopefully nine months ago, and are not here, can mar the feeling of joy to-day. They are the heroes and martyrs! Four of them sleep in the honored grave of the soldier in recreant Virginia, and one 'neath the sods of your own Buffalo Valley.

"They lay like a warrior taking his rest,
With his martial cloak around him."

"And now, to you, the brave men of my command, I must say a parting word. You have well and zealously performed your duty. I can say no more than has been said, that would add to your laurels. The President, your commanding officers in the field, have personally and in General Orders, repeatedly complimented you, and the Governor of your State yesterday called you before him and personally addressed you, and said "Well done" in behalf of all the people of the Commonwealth. And now and here our friends at home endorse your actions and so warmly bid you welcome home. This is an event, for me and for each of you, that we should cherish as one of the proudest moments of our lives, and a happy culmination of trials and dangers of the camp, the wearisome marches, in bivouac and on the battlefields. It richly compensates us for all. We are about to part and this is the last formation of Company A. Longing, anxious hearts, are waiting to welcome you to your own firesides. Go, but let me as a last command bid you remember that you have a reputation to maintain. As you esteem martial valor let no act of yours tarnish your fair name. Farewell, soldiers! To all these organized bodies, officials, comrades and citizens, you have our most grateful thanks."

A substantial repast was awaiting the returning soldiers at the Riviere House, where the Company now repaired, many of them fairly carried away by enthusiastic and loving friends who had been long waiting to personally greet them, and the great throng gradually dispersed. The dining room was gaily festooned and the table was richly laden with the choicest and best

—a happy contrast, they all said, from the army ration, “hard tack” and “salt junk.”

Thus terminated a day long to be remembered by all who were so fortunate as to be present—and one, no doubt, that will ever awaken pleasant recollections in the years to come in the minds of the honored recipients of these marked favors and evidences of gratitude. It was a reception worthy of our brave soldiers and creditable to the citizens of Lewisburg, and of Union county.

Captain Orwig and Lieutenants Kepler and Fichthorn shared the confidence and esteem of their men in no small degree, as the affectionate leave-taking clearly exemplified.

Before parting finally, and during the happy after-dinner speeches, they all united themselves with the Lewisburg Union League, and many of them gave their views upon some of the general questions of the day, after which the following resolutions were passed without a dissenting voice :

Resolved, That we declare our hearty approval of every measure that the government has adopted calculated to increase the effective power of our armies, or to impair the strength of the enemy.

Resolved, That the employment of the slaves of their rebel owners in aid of the Armies of the United States is a measure of such a nature; and in view of the fact that colored soldiers were employed in the defense of the country by Washington, in the war of the Revolution, and by Jackson in the war of 1812, we can conceive of no opposition to colored aid, save that to be expected from those who prefer the protection of their slave properly to the speedy suppression of the rebellion and the consequent restoration of our former peace and prosperity.

Resolved, That we hereby extend our warmest sympathy, as we have always yielded our enthusiastic support and admiration, to our brother soldiers, the comrades remaining in the field, and promise that, while they are braving the open enemy in front, we will discriminate and rebuke any and all secret enemies in the rear.

Resolved, That in proof of the sincerity of our declaration, we will enroll our names as members of the Lewisburg Union League, and pledge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor, to the preservation of our Constitution, the permanency and prosperity of our Union, the support of our Government, and the safety, honor and welfare of the people of the United States.

[Extract from the Star and Chronicle.]

"The nine months' volunteers belonging to Hartleton and the adjoining townships arrived here late on Monday night, the 25th inst. Arrangements were immediately made to give them a reception in the afternoon of the following day. The interest, energy and activity manifested by the ladies of Hartleton and vicinity in making preparations for the splendid repast, reflect no small degree of honor upon Hartleton. It speaks well for the patriotism; it shames out treason, and seems to say, 'Crush out the Rebellion!'

"The variety and abundance of the good things prepared, we think, could not under similar circumstances, be surpassed by any other race. The respectable number of people in attendance; the quietness and good order; the sociability and cheerfulness manifested on the occasion; the graceful procession of the little band of soldiers to the place prepared for the repast; the beautiful, soul-thrilling, patriotic song, which was twice repeated; the cheers for the Union, for the soldiers, and for the ladies—are all of material interest and worthy of note. The most we had to regret, was that our worthy friend, Captain Orwig, who commanded Company A, 131st Regiment, was not present to participate with us, and to give us an address suitable to the very interesting occasion. W. G.

"Hartleton, Pa., May 28, 1863."

What is portrayed here as to the reception of Company A at Lewisburg and Hartleton was duplicated at Williamsport on the return of Companies G and I, a banquet having been given in the corridors of the court house, and similar receptions at the homes of the other companies of the regiment.

The reader will trace in these pages the story of the 131st Pennsylvania Regiment from the recruiting to the muster out, and the welcome home. No member of this organization will fail to recall its progress as he reads these pages. Many of the officers and men served with honor in the three months' service, and many also re-entered the service and fought and served in various regiments throughout the war.

To commit such honorable record to posterity will be a soothing comfort to every participant in this great war for the Union against the slaveholders' rebellion from 1861 to 1865.

Happily, as we write, the bitterness of that unexampled war has been almost obliterated, and a Union of hearts as well as a union of States is assured. "One flag, one land, one heart,

one nation, evermore." We have seen the fruition of the hopes of the men who in their official capacity, as the responsible agents, and as soldiers and citizens, stood to their duty and through an unexampled war maintained the principle, so matchlessly expressed by Lincoln, the great leader, at Gettysburg: "The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us here to dedicate to the task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion. That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain. That the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that the government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

No one who was a soldier with the 131st Pennsylvania, who reads these pages, nor the friend of the unreturning comrades, can leave this story of a regiment without a thought or a tear for those of our number who went forth so hopefully, but fell by the way either in the storm of battle or by the insidious hand of disease, or accident. Many of them sleep in "unknown" graves, some by the way where they fell, some in the National Cemeteries and some in cemeteries at home. The comradeship, the parental affection, their lofty patriotism, is most touchingly expressed by the poet, Theodore O'Hara, in "The Bivouac of the Dead," which we append :

"BIVOUAC OF THE DEAD."

The muffled drum's sad roll has beat
 The soldier's last tattoo;
 No more on life's parade shall meet
 That brave and fallen few.
 On Fame's eternal camping ground
 Their silent tents are spread,
 And Glory guards, with solemn sound,
 The bivouac of the dead.

The neighing troop, the flashing blade,
 The trumpet's stirring blast,
 The charge, the dreadful cannonade,
 The din and shout are past;
 Nor war's wild note, nor glory's peal,
 Shall thrill with fierce delight
 Those breasts that nevermore shall feel
 The rapture of the fight.

* * * * *

Rest on, embalmed and sainted dead!
 Dear as the blood you gave,
 No impious footsteps here shall tread
 The herbage of your grave;
 Nor shall your glory be forgot
 While Fame her record keeps,
 Or Honor points the hallowed spot
 Where Valor proudly sleeps.

Yon marble minstrel's voiceless stone
 In deathless song shall tell,
 When many a vanquished age hath flown,
 The story how ye fell;
 Nor wreck, nor change, nor winter's blight,
 Nor Time's remorseless doom,
 Shall dim one ray of holy light
 That gilds your glorious tomb.

WASHINGTON, JULY 25, 1867.

CAPT. CHAS. I. A. CHAPMAN, late of the 131st Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Pittston, Luzerne Co., Pa.

Dear Sir: I have received yours of the 22d inst., making certain inquiries relating to the service of the 131st Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers.

Copies of my reports upon the battles of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, and of Chancellorsville, May, 1863, in the former of which the division and regiment bore a conspicuous part, will be sent you for perusal and information so far as they relate to the regiment. Of course, these reports of mine cannot be published by you, but the information or phrases, general as well as special, relating to or bearing upon the regiment, its services or character, are at your service. The closing portion of my report upon Chancellorsville in which the character of the regiments forming the division, and the nature of their services are stated, is at your service.

Substantially the same remarks were made by me in General Orders when the regiments were ordered home for muster out, a copy of which Colonel Allabach will send you.

The regiment was not detached at any time. It always did its duty promptly and thoroughly; was well disciplined and effective on the field. Its colonel, P. H. Allabach, who commanded the brigade to which the regiment belonged, was a thorough soldier; a good disciplinarian, gallant, and a man to be relied upon under all circumstances. Very truly yours.

A. A. HUMPHREY,
Major General.

APPENDIX.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

COMRADES: For more than twenty years we have entertained propositions at our annual reunions in one form or another for the preparation and publication of a History of the Regiment. But these occasions, so desirable and enjoyable, were not calculated for the transaction of important business of such a nature as that of the getting up and publishing of a history. Such an object requires an author and a publisher, and these required compensation. After many discussions of the subject, and many suggestions on the matter, the undersigned were appointed a committee on history, and to whom the whole matter was referred for adjustment and to bring about the desired object, namely, a History of the Regiment. A sub-committee of one comrade from each company to collect data, etc., and report to the General or History Committee at the next reunion, which was held at Milton, December, 1895. Your general committee then issued a printed circular setting forth our purposes, which was widely distributed, but few responses were received, and the impracticability of securing a history by this means or by a general effort of the regiment seemed to determine that all our hopes must be abandoned. Your committee, however, was again continued at the Milton meeting with the hope that material might be forthcoming with what we had to make a creditable history. Captain Orwig having the most of the data on hand it was given into his charge to weave it into a history. After knowing that the material was nearly all at hand the committee found that the necessary funds were not at hand with which to have the book printed. At the meeting at Selinsgrove pledges were given by individual members and by companies to endeavor to have the amount necessary for the cost of compiling and publishing it. Not enough was raised at that meeting. Your committee became discouraged, that after all the work which had been done it should now be abandoned. At the reunion at Muncy a final effort was made, and the

amount pledged. The committee then sought a publisher, which was found in the office of The Williamsport Sun. The manuscript was received from the editor, Captain Orwig, and in looking over it what was our dismay to find it the history of but one of the companies to a large extent. Your committee decided that this would not be just to the rest of the regiment, so we were compelled to go over the whole manuscript and put it into such form as would make it of general interest to the regiment. In this we were ably assisted by Sergt. W. F. Thompson, Comrades T. J. Funston and T. J. Ramsey, and for which we are exceedingly grateful. The History is now completed after many trials and discouragements. We have done the best we could under the circumstances.

WILLIAM SWEELEY,
M. L. WAGENSELLER,
J. R. ORWIG,
Committee.

BIOGRAPHIES.

COL. PETER HOLLINGSHEAD ALLABACH.

Col. Peter Hollingshead Allabach was born in Wilkes-Barre, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, September 9th, 1824. His father was of the best and strongest German stock, and an early-time master builder and millwright. He was educated in the Wilkes-Barre Academy, and afterwards engaged with his father until the latter part of the year 1844, when his natural martial instincts led him to enter the army, and he enlisted for five years' service in the Regular Army, and was assigned to duty in Company E, Third United States Infantry. His regiment was ordered to Mexico, and he participated in every battle during the war with Mexico, with but one exception—Buena Vista.

For bravery and meritorious conduct, he was promoted to a sergeant after his first six months of service.

After the battles of Palo Alto, Resaca, and Monterey, Sergeant Allabach was transferred with his regiment to General Scott's Army at Vera Cruz. Continuing with this army, under General Twiggs, and subsequently under General Worth, he was in the engagements at National Bridge and Contreras, where at the latter named battle he planted the first flag upon the Mexican works.

After the Treaty of Guadalupe, he marched with his regiment to New Mexico, where he served until the expiration of his enlistment, and was honorably discharged November 25th, 1849. Upon his return home he was tendered a public reception and banquet.

September 30th, 1851, he was married to Miss Nancy G. Blanchard, of Port Blanchard, Luzerne County, Pa.

On the 6th of May, 1852, he was commissioned by Governor Bigler, of Pennsylvania, Brigade Inspector of the Uniformed Militia of Luzerne County. In 1853 he was appointed to a position in the United States mail service by Postmaster General Campbell, which he filled for seven or eight years with great credit.

August 16th, 1862, he was commissioned by Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, Colonel of the 131st Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, and on reporting with his regiment

to Gen. A. A. Humphrey, he was assigned to the command as Brigadier General of the Second Brigade, Third Division, Fifth Corps, Army of the Potomac. His brigade consisted of the 131st, 133rd, 123rd and 155th Regiments of Pennsylvania Volunteers.

In this capacity he served with honor at the second battle of Bull Run, Antietam, and Chancellorsville, and in the memorable charge at the battle of Fredericksburg he led his brigade, and his bravery and tact that day won the personal commendation of General Humphrey on the battlefield, and he was especially mentioned in the official report of his commanding general.

In the month of April, 1876, he was selected by Governor Hartranft, and appointed captain of Company E, Centennial Guards, which position he held during the progress of the International Exposition, in Philadelphia.

In July, 1878, he was appointed Captain of the United States Capitol Police, which position he filled up to the time of his death, February 11th, 1892.

He was a man of commanding presence and soldierly bearing; a strict disciplinarian; a loyal patriot to his flag and country; one whose record is without blemish. He left a legacy more priceless than gold—

That of an honest name.

MAJOR ROBERT W. PATTON.

The subject of this sketch was born at Lewistown, Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, February 22, 1834, in the old Lewistown Hotel, now occupied by the Express and Gazette offices; was educated in the public schools and the Old Academy; learned the watchmaking business with Michael Buoy; went to Philadelphia and worked under instructions with a Mr. Herman in Second street, about a year. Returning home he again worked with Mr. Buoy for a time, then buying him out he conducted the business for himself. He was one of the originators of the Logan Guards, and was made first sergeant of the company. On the night of April 16, 1861, in answer to President Lincoln's call for three months' troops, he left home with the company, arriving at Harrisburg about daylight on the 17th, and was sent on to Washington on April 18th, along with four other companies from Pottsville, Reading and Allentown, passing through the mob at Baltimore, arriving at Washington the same

evening and occupying the Capitol building. He was elected second lieutenant of the company on April 20. His company was then ordered to Fort Washington, Maryland, where they remained until the expiration of their term of service. On returning home he again started in business, and subsequently was elected to the office of county treasurer. When the call for nine months' troops was made, he went to Harrisburg and was elected major of the 131st Regiment, and was in command a good part of the time. He was mustered out with the regiment after serving the full time. Major Patton was appointed postmaster of Lewistown by President Grant, serving in that capacity for a little more than twelve years. He then went West, where he remained for about sixteen months. Returning East he went to Washington, D. C., from whence he was sent to the New York assay office, where he has been for the past thirteen or fourteen years.

CAPT. DAVID BLY.

Captain David Bly died at his home, 720 West Fourth street, at 7 o'clock Tuesday evening.

Captain Bly had been in ill health for some time past, suffering from an affliction of the heart. Though very ill he was not thought to be in immediate danger and death, when it came, was sudden and unexpected.

He had been very weak, but was able to be up and about his room until a very short time before he died. On Tuesday morning he became worse, but even then not confined to his bed. He was very restless and moved about the room considerably. Shortly before he died he placed his hands over his heart and exclaimed that the pain was intense and that this must be the end.

David Bly was born at White Deer, Union county, Pa., December 28, 1838. He was a son of John and Lydia (Rhoads) Bly, and was the second of a family of ten sons, four of whom participated in the war of the rebellion.

He received a common school education, and at the age of 17 began clerking in the store of Ario Pardee, of Watsontown, and was serving in that capacity when Lincoln made the first call for troops. He immediately enlisted in Company G, Eleventh Pennsylvania Volunteers, and served in the ranks three months. After his discharge he returned to Watsontown and resumed clerking.

In May, 1862, he received a commission from Governor Curtin as second lieutenant and recruiting officer. He recruited 131 men in Northumberland and Union counties, and early in August, 1862, he reported with his company at Camp Curtin, near Harrisburg, and was mustered in as Captain of Company B, 131st Pennsylvania Volunteers.

Captain Bly served fourteen months, and besides various minor engagements, he participated in the battles of Second Bull Run, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville.

After completing his service Captain Bly found employment with the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad Company as civil engineer, and was assigned to the Western division, with headquarters at Erie. His duties were confined principally to harbor improvement, rights of way, etc., and he remained there until March, 1865. He then located in Pittsburg, and engaged in business as an oil broker, and afterwards operated a refinery. He was forced to abandon this business because of the aggressive and grasping actions of the Standard Oil Company, and retired from the oil trade in Pittsburg in 1877. He came to Williamsport and engaged in the same business, but after a short period was again compelled to abandon it.

Captain Bly then engaged in the marketing of bituminous coal, and in 1888 he organized the Kettle Creek Coal Mining Company. He served as first president of the company and for many years was its general manager. Until within the past year he was the owner of the White Deer flouring mills, and engaged in the manufacture of flour and other grain products until one of the Lewisburg water companies purchased the plant in order to control the stream.

For many years he engaged in business as a stock broker at the corner of Third and Pine streets.

He was a stockholder in the Susquehanna Trust and Safe Deposit Company and, during its existence, of the Merchants National Bank, and also held stock in various other institutions of the city. He was one of the organizers of the Williamsport Engineering and Supply Company, and also of the first Board of Trade.

In politics he was a Republican, though not a strong partisan.

While in Pittsburg he served as a member of the city council one term. He was for several years a member of the Williamsport school board and served as its president in 1887 and 1888. During his presidency the High School building, corner of Third and Walnut, was erected.

Captain Bly was a prominent member of Reno Post, No. 64, G. A. R., and was its commander in 1891. He was also a member of the Loyal Legion and of a Masonic Blue lodge at Pittsburg.

He and his family were attendants at Trinity Episcopal church. He leaves a wife and a daughter, Mrs. H. F. Clapp.

Very largely attended was the funeral of Captain David Bly, which occurred from the late residence, 720 West Fourth street, Friday afternoon at 2 o'clock. The services were in charge of the Rev. James W. Diggles, curate of Christ church parish. Music was furnished by a quartet composed of Mrs. S. V. Border, Miss Della Meyers, Charles Krape and S. V. Border. The pall bearers were Messrs. J. R. T. Ryan, James N. Kline, H. A. Merriman, Capt. Evan Russell, Capt. Frank Burrows and Capt. William Sweeley. Reno Post, G. A. R., of which the deceased was an honored member, attended in a body in uniform, and had charge of the service at the grave. Interment was made in Wildwood. In a handsome coffin the body of the civil war veteran reposed under the folds of the flag he fought for, and his funeral was most impressive.

CAPT. CHAS. B. DAVIS.

Capt. Charles B. Davis, commanding Company G, was born August 17, 1829, at Easton, Pa. He learned the trade of machinist. He came to Williamsport about 1854, and was foreman of the Williamsport & Elmira railroad shop until the breaking out of the war. He was a member of the famous underground railway, in which he was much interested and did good and faithful service, being the means of getting many a poor colored man through the lines to Canada, via the old turnpike over the mountain to Williamsport and Elmira, to Canada. He was unanimously elected captain, many of the members of his company being with him in the railroad shops and on the road. His boys, as he called us, loved him and were always ready to do anything they could for him, and he likewise loved his boys, and many a time provided for their wants and comforts. After the muster out of the regiment he again took up his position in the railroad shops until their removal to Elmira, and went with them there and continued in his old position. However, owing to disease contracted in the army developing into rheumatism and other complications, he was finally compelled to resign his position and retire from active service into private life. Here he rested from his labor, enjoying the

comforts of his home and family. His health gradually failing, he was compelled to take his bed, where he laid for a long time, death finally coming to his relief on the 14th day of September, 1899. He was laid to rest at Elmira, N. Y.

CAPT. JOSEPH G. HUTCHISON.

Hon. Joseph G. Hutchison was born September 11, 1840, in Northumberland county, Pennsylvania, of Scotch-Irish descent, his father's ancestors being Scotch. His mother's maiden name was Caldwell, of a large and highly esteemed family, and her parents came from the North of Ireland in 1798. His grandmother Hutchison, whose maiden name was Guilford, was of English descent. His grandfather, Joseph Hutchison, was prominent in the public affairs of Pennsylvania, and at an early day represented a district, constituting about one-twelfth of the state, in the general assembly. His father, Wilson Hutchison, was one of Northumberland county's best known and respected citizens.

The subject of this sketch, Joseph G. Hutchison, was educated at the Williamsport Dickinson Seminary, at Williamsport, Pennsylvania, from which he was graduated in June, 1862, after completing a four years' course. This institution sustains and conducts classical and scientific collegiate courses. He entered the service August 10, 1862, as First Lieutenant in Company B, 131st Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, in the Army of the Potomac, and participated in the historic battles of Fredericksburg, Antietam and Chancellorsville. He also took part in the Gettysburg campaign as Captain of Company I, 28th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, which regiment was mustered into service under the special call of President Lincoln, to repel the Confederate invasion. Captain Hutchison performed his duties well as a loyal and valiant officer, at a time when the country was in its greatest peril. Special mention was given him by the commander of his brigade for bravery in the charge on Marye's Hill at the battle of Fredericksburg.

Captain Hutchison had been pursuing his study of the law, and graduated at the Cleveland (Ohio) Law School in the spring of 1865. In December, 1865, he came to Ottumwa and formed a law partnership with Hon. E. H. Stiles, one of the most distinguished members of the Iowa bar. He practiced law until 1872, when he assisted in organizing the Johnston Ruffler Company, and the Ottumwa Iron Works, a very import-

ant industry that gave employment to a large number of men and brought the name of Ottumwa to the front as a manufacturing city.

The subject of this sketch resumed the practice of law in August, 1875, and continued it actively and successfully until 1879. In the latter year Captain Hutchison was elected to the lower house of the state legislature, where he served one term. In 1881 he received the nomination for the Iowa senate, from the Republican party, by acclamation, of which party he has always been a consistent member, and was elected; he was re-elected in 1884, thus rendering ten years' service in the halls of the legislature. During his senatorial terms, he was a member of the ways and means and judiciary committees, and, it is said, he had more to do in shaping the policy that paid off the state debt, than any other man in the legislature. He was the author of the registration system for elections, which is now giving the greatest satisfaction to men of all parties, although it was opposed at the beginning by those who did not understand its beneficial effect in securing an honest ballot. Mr. Hutchison also devoted a great share of his attention to railroad legislation, and organized the committee which took the matter in charge, and at last brought about reforms that were advantageous to the people. He received the nomination for governor from the Republican party, in 1889, at a time when reaction against prohibition was strongest. Many Republicans voted for Governor Boies on account of prohibition, and because Captain Hutchison stood manfully upon the platform of his party. Two years afterwards, Hiram Wheeler was nominated by the Republicans for governor, as against Governor Boies, when the same issue was presented, and Mr. Wheeler was defeated by 10,000 majority—4,000 more than the majority Mr. Boies obtained over Mr. Hutchison. It thus became plain that Captain Hutchison was not defeated on personal grounds, but because people suddenly turned against the principles of prohibition, and held the Republican party responsible. Others for other positions on the Republican state ticket suffered defeat each time that Governor Boies was elected, but the chief effort was made against the head of the ticket.

Joseph G. Hutchison had been twice married. His first wife was Sarah L. Taylor, to whom he was married November 4, 1868; she died on November 2, 1896. She was a woman of strong character and unusual mental gifts and scholarly attainments, and through her influence and executive ability there remain many good works to attest her worth as a true woman of exalted character. Mr. Hutchison was married to Mabel

Vernon Dixon, a daughter of Hon. J. W. Dixon, June 23, 1898. Mrs. Hutchison served as president of the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs from May, 1899, to May, 1901, a position which she filled with rare ability and to the entire satisfaction of the Federation. She has done much unselfish and noble work for women's club interests in Iowa.

Captain Hutchison has had a successful business career. He was one of the promoters of the Ottumwa National Bank, served seven years as its president, and then resigned to accept the nomination for governor. He left the bank in good condition, which has been maintained by his successors. In May, 1891, he entered upon a wholesale grocery business, in which he has prospered. His has been a busy life, which promises to be prolonged to an advanced age with faculties unimpaired.

We have thus given an outline, only, of the principal events connected closely with the subject of this sketch, and the share he has taken in controlling those events. It will be seen that he is a man of action, and has taken his full share of the burdens of citizenship, and well won the honors due to those who are faithful in their convictions, and who devotedly love their country and its institutions. His first sacrifices were made when he was but a mere youth, in offering his services as a soldier on the battlefield. When he again became a citizen, he so conducted himself that his integrity and ability won recognition, and he was instrumental, to a large degree, in shaping the destiny of the young and growing state of his adoption. During all the years he has lived in Iowa, he has led the life of an upright Christian gentleman, and attracted warm friends because of his integrity and his unswerving adherence to a high standard of honor.

CAPT. JOSEPH R. ORWIG.

Joseph Ray Orwig was born June 30, 1838, at Mifflinburg, Union County, Pa. He is a member of the Orwig family who have lived for nearly two hundred years in the southern part of Schuylkill county, and gave their name to the borough of Orwigsburg, the old county town of the county. Captain Orwig's father removed to Union county about the year 1820, and began farming, which his son, the subject of this sketch, pursued also. Young Orwig worked on his father's farm and attended common school in the winter till he was sixteen, when he accepted a place as salesman in a store at Mifflinburg, where he remained several years, except during winters when he attended Mifflin-

burg Academy three sessions, and taught school two winters. He went to Philadelphia and clerked for his brother, R. G. Orwig, who was editor and publisher of the *State Journal*, a weekly Republican newspaper. He was here about three years, and then returned to Union county, and entered upon the study of the law with his brother, S. H. Orwig, till the beginning of the war, when he enlisted as a member of the first company that left Union county under the first call of the President. At the expiration of his time he joined the 131st Regiment as lieutenant of Company A. After the battle of Fredericksburg he was promoted to captain. When his time was out he returned to Mifflinburg and devoted his energies to the editing and publishing of the *Mifflinburg Telegraph*, a paper which he had started just previous to his rejoining the army. In this he was engaged ten years, working faithfully to develop local improvements; was especially active in promoting the building of the Lewisburg, Centre and Spruce Creek railroad, and in the building up and increasing the usefulness of the public schools of the county. He was a member of the school board and served several years as president of the same. He also held the local offices of notary public and United States assistant assessor. In 1875 he was appointed by Governor Hartranft, who had been the colonel of his old three months' regiment, the Fourth Pennsylvania, to the office of assistant librarian.

Captain Orwig was an excellent and industrious keeper of the books of the State. His manners were very courteous, agreeable and obliging to all, no matter who. He served under the governorships of Hartranft, Hoyt and Beaver and left the library in Governor Pattison's second term. He served in the clerical department of the Pennsylvania Commission for the Chicago World's Fair, and was six months in Chicago, after which he removed from Harrisburg to Des Moines, Iowa, in 1893. He was appointed assistant state librarian of Iowa by Governor Drake, and assisted in the establishment of the traveling library, and served two years, when he engaged in railroad construction at Hahatanka, Mo., when he was appointed postmaster, and is secretary of the North and South Central Railway company. He has a family of four daughters and two sons, who reside at Des Moines. The Captain and Mrs. Orwig are in good health and have the esteem and affection of a large circle of friends.

LIEUT. ALBERT D. LUNDY.

Lieut. Albert D. Lundy was born in Danville, Pa., July 24, 1836, where he resided until 1854, when he came to Williamsport to engage with the Catawissa, Williamsport & Erie Railroad, under Hon. McKiport, general superintendent. He resided in Boone and Webster counties, Iowa, from 1858 to 1861. In 1860 he married the eldest daughter of Capt. J. J. Ayres. Mrs. Lundy visited the regiment at Antietam in 1862 and witnessed the review of the army by President Lincoln. Lieutenant Lundy was detailed on staff duty at brigade headquarters soon after the battle of Fredericksburg. He rendered efficient service at the battle of Chancellorsville, which was noted in the official report of Col. P. H. Allabach, brigade commander.

He now resides in Williamsport, Pa., engaged as state agent of the Sun Insurance Office, and also as a partner in the agency of A. D. Lundy & Co. His family consists of a wife and five children, two residing in Chicago, two in Williamsport, and one in Englewood, N. J.

CAPT. THOMAS R. JONES.

Thomas R. Jones, Captain of Company C, was born in Northumberland county, Pennsylvania. Graduated from Bucknell university, at Lewisburg, in 1862. After the muster-out of the regiment he commenced to study law at Lewisburg. Later he became Captain of Company A, Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteer Militia. He was an accountant in the United States Treasury from 1865 to 1872. Graduated from the law department of Columbian university in 1868, and was admitted to the Bar of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. Was cashier of the National Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., from 1872 to 1884. From 1884 to 1892 he was located in New York city as manager of the New York Branch of the American Baptist Publication Society. From 1892 to 1897 was third vice president and executive officer of the National Safe Deposit, Savings and Trust Company, Washington, D. C. He has been president of the same since June, 1897. He is a member of the Washington Stock Exchange and is an officer in several religious and benevolent organizations in Washington city.

ROSTER

OF THE

COMMISSIONED AND NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, MUSICIANS AND PRIVATES

OF THE

131ST PENNA. VOLUNTEERS.

FIELD AND STAFF.

*Peter H. Allabach, colonel; mustered out with regiment.
 William B. Shaut, lieut.-colonel; promoted from captain Company I, Aug. 19, 1862; mustered out with regiment.
 Robert W. Patton, major; mustered out with regiment.
 Samuel W. Pollock, adjutant; mustered out with regiment.
 C. J. A. Chapman, quartermaster; mustered out with regiment.
 John F. Huber, surgeon; promoted from assistant surgeon 49th Regiment, P. V., Oct. 22, 1862—mustered out with regiment.
 L. R. Kirk, ass't surgeon; mustered out with regiment.
 David J. Evans, ass't surgeon; mustered out with regiment.
 Charles W. Sanders, chaplain; mustered out with regiment.
 Roswell S. Parker, sergeant-major; promoted from corporal Company D, Aug. 26, 1862; died at Washington, D. C., Jan. 10, 1863, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Ambrose M. Aults, sergeant-major; promoted from private Company D, Jan 10, 1863; mustered out with regiment.
 William F. Thompson, quartermaster sergeant; promoted from corporal Company I, Aug. 23, 1862; mustered out with regiment.
 Henry M. Edwards, commissary sergeant; promoted from corporal Company I, Oct. 25, 1862; mustered out with regiment.
 George W. Moyer, commissary sergeant; promoted from private Company A, Aug. 23, 1862; discharged by special order Oct. 25, 1862.
 Lorenzo D. Robins, hospital steward; promoted from sergeant Company C, Aug. 23, 1862; mustered out with regiment.

COMPANY A.

Joseph R. Orwig, captain; mustered out with company.
 Joseph W. Kepler, first lieutenant; mustered out with company.
 William Fichthorn, second lieutenant; mustered out with company.
 Albert E. Barnes, first sergeant; mustered out with company.
 Foster Halfpenny, sergeant; mustered out with company.
 Isaac Treat, sergeant; mustered out with company.
 Josiah Schriener, sergeant; mustered out with company; re-enlisted.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star.

Henry Rothermel, sergeant; mustered out with company.
 George W. Feister, first corporal; mustered out with company.
 Charles Worman, corporal; mustered out with company.
 Jacob Hower, corporal; mustered out with company; re-enlisted July 14, 1864; first sergeant Company F, 195th Regt., P. V., discharged Sept. 4, 1864, and re-enlisted Sept. 4, 1864, fifth sergeant Company A, 195th Regt., P. V., discharged June 21, 1865.
 Harrison Haffer, corporal; mustered out with company; re-enlisted Company I, 202d P. V., March, 1865, discharged Sept., 1865.
 Samuel S. Smith, corporal; mustered out with company.
 William H. Weirick, corporal; mustered out with company.
 Joel C. Kline, corporal; mustered out with company; re-enlisted in company.
 Henry Phillips, corporal; mustered out with company.
 Nathaniel W. Strahan, corporal; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 James B. Forest, musician; mustered out with company; re-enlisted Co. C, 28th Regt., and discharged July 28, 1863; re-enlisted Jan. 9, 1864 in Co. C, 187th Regt., discharged Aug. 3, 1865.
 Thomas L. Schuck, musician; mustered out with company.
 Aikey, William H., private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Burkholder, William, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Burkholder, Lewis, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Burkenstock, Hermon, private; mustered out with company.
 Brant, Henry, private; mustered out with company; re-enlisted Co. I, 192d Regt. P. V., July, 1865, discharged Aug., 1865.
 Bower, Francis, private; mustered out with company.
 Baldwin, Absalom, private; mustered out with company.
 Brocius, Isaac A., private; mustered out with company.
 Bordner, William, private; mustered out with company.
 Caulleflower, William, private; mustered out with company.
 Collins, Peter, private; mustered out with company.
 Cornelius, Washington, private; mustered out with company.
 Charles, Sterger, private; mustered out with company.
 Diehl, Henry C., private; mustered out with company.
 Dennis, Phares, private; mustered out with company.
 Devine, Peter, private; mustered out with company.
 Dollard, William, private; mustered out with company.
 Dresher, William, private; mustered out with company; re-enlisted Co. E, 51st Regt, and killed in battle of Wilderness.
 Foltz Martin, private; mustered out with company.
 Foster, Andrew, private; mustered out with company.
 Fiester, John Uhl, private; mustered out with company.
 Grove, Samuel G., private; mustered out with company.
 Glover, John W., private; mustered out with company.
 Huff, George, private; mustered out with company.
 Huff, John, private; mustered out with company.
 Harris John, private; mustered out with company.
 Heinselman, David, private; mustered out with company.
 Hayes, James C., private; mustered out with company.
 Hulsizer, Jesse, private; died at Pinley Hospital, Nov. 10, 1862.
 Henry, William G., private; deserted.
 Hartley, Elias, private; mustered out with company.
 Kelchner, William, private; mustered out with company.
 Kerr, Christian H., private; mustered out with company.
 Katherman, Joseph, private; mustered out with company.
 Katherman, Isaiah, private; mustered out with company.
 Kline, Charles, private; mustered out with company.
 Kline, George, private; mustered out with company.

Kline, Henry C., private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Leib, Emanuel, private; mustered out with company.
 Laird, Samuel H., private; mustered out with company.
 Lenhart, David, private; mustered out with company.
 Ludwig, George W., private, deserted.
 Lashells George, private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Miller, Harry, private; mustered out with company.
 Markle, John private; mustered out with company.
 Myers, Daniel B., private; mustered out with company; re-enlisted July 28, 1863, Co. C, P. V., discharged July 28, 1863; re-enlisted Feb. 28, 1864, Co. E, 51st Regt., discharged July 27, 1865.
 McPherson, Archibald, private; mustered out with company.
 Maxwell, Archibald, private; mustered out with company .
 Mayer, George W., private; mustered out with company.
 Newman, Lewis, private; mustered out with company; re-enlisted Co. I, 202d Regt., discharged Sept., 1865.
 Reagsman, William, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Reule, Valentine, private; mustered out with company.
 Richard, Christian, private; mustered out with company.
 Reahrer, John, private; mustered out with company.
 Reed, John private; mustered out with company.
 Reed, George T., private; mustered out with company.
 Rote, Joel, private; mustered out with company.
 Rorabach, James, private; mustered out with company.
 Shaffer, Milton, private; mustered out with company.
 Solomon, Henry C., private; mustered out with company.
 Summers, Jeremiah, private; mustered out with company.
 Summers, Oliver, private; mustered out with company.
 Snyder, William A., private; mustered out with company.
 Snyder, William W., private; mustered out with company.
 Snyder, Emanuel, private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Swartz, John, private; mustered out with company.
 Showalter, Samuel, private; mustered out with company.
 Stees, Henry G., private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Sanders, George, private; deserted.
 Smith, Sylvester, private; deserted.
 Taylor, William A., private; mustered out with company.
 Weise, Charles W., private; mustered out with company.
 Wertz, William, private; mustered out with company.
 Winegarden, John A., private; mustered out with company.
 Wilson, Frank, private; mustered out with company.
 Zechman, Malancthon, C., private; mustered out with company.

COMPANY B.

- *David Bly, captain; mustered out with company.
- Jos. G. Hutchison, first lieutenant; mustered out with company.
- *Joseph M. Irwin, second lieutenant; mustered out with company.
- Tilghman F. Stadler, sergt.; mustered out with company.
- *Harmon A. Sevison, sergt.; mustered out with company.
- *John F. Casselberry, sergt.; mustered out with company.
- Israel L. Hill, sergt.; mustered out with company.
- *Russell Levan, sergt.; promoted from corporal Jan. 10, 1863; mustered out with company.
- *George W. Dixon, sergt.; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Jan. 10, 1863.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star.

- William R. Bly, corporal; promoted to corporal Jan. 10, 1863; mustered out with company.
- *Edward L. Matchin, corporal; mustered out with company.
- Elias Boush, corporal; mustered out with company.
- *Daniel G. Westley, corporal; mustered out with company.
- *John Heckle, corporal; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; absent at muster-out.
- *Joseph Bly, corporal; mustered out with company.
- *Joseph Lodge, corporal; promoted corporal, Jan. 10, 1863; mustered out with company.
- *Daniel J. Reader, corporal; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; absent at muster-out.
- James L. Durham, corporal; died Dec. 31, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
- *George E. Hill, musician; mustered out with company.
- *Anderson, George, private; absent, sick at muster-out.
- Albright, Joseph, private; mustered out with company.
- *Armstrong, W. W., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Dec. 24, 1862.
- *Bechtel, George W., private; absent, sick, at muster-out.
- Bennage, Enos, private; mustered out with company.
- Boush, James Pollock, private; mustered out with company.
- Bly, James C., private; mustered out with company.
- Cooner, John R., private; mustered out with company.
- *Conner, Thomas, private; mustered out with company.
- Claudfelter, Henry, private; mustered out with company.
- Conley, John, private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
- Dougherty, James, private; mustered out with company.
- Dentler, H. Clay, private; mustered out with company.
- *Dennius, D. Webster, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; absent at muster-out.
- Dentler, John M., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Dec. 10, 1862.
- Eckerd, William D., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Jan. 27, 1863.
- *Frymire, David, private; mustered out with company.
- *Fry, Elias, private; mustered out with company.
- *Guffey, Richard, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; absent at muster-out.
- Haag, George W., private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; absent at muster-out.
- Hartman, Jonathan, private; absent, sick, at muster-out.
- Hayes, U. Silsby, private; absent, sick, at muster-out.
- Hogue, Daniel C., private; mustered out with company.
- Harman, Benjamin F., private; mustered out with company.
- *Hill, Robert, private; absent, sick, at muster-out.
- Hester, William, private; absent, sick, at muster-out.
- Hutchison, Robert C., private; mustered out with company.
- *Hartranft, Jeff. C., private; mustered out with company.
- *Hilliard, Joseph L., private; mustered out with company.
- *Irwin, Ellis L., private; mustered out with company.
- *Jarrett, Robert F., private; mustered out with company.
- *Keener, William, private; mustered out with company.
- *Leinbach, Daniel S., private; mustered out with company.
- Leinbach, William S., private; absent, sick, at muster-out.
- *Lilly, George, private; mustered out with company.
- *Lamm, Ambrose S., private; mustered out with company.
- Long, Joseph K., private; mustered out with company.
- Lynn, Elias, private; mustered out with company.
- Lindauer, John F., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Oct. 27, 1862.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star.

- *Miller, William, private; mustered out with company.
- *Meadowcroft, John, private; mustered out with company.
- Morrison, J. Hunter, private; mustered out with company.
- Miles, J. Hunter, private; mustered out with company.
- Moore, John F., private; died at Salisbury, N. C., Jan. 11, 1865.
- Messenger Isaac N., private; mustered out with company.
- Moore, Joseph, private, died Feb. 18, 1863.
- McKee, James, private; mustered out with company.
- McWilliams, David C., private; deserted; re-enlisted in U. S. navy on gunboat Nyak, North Atlantic blockading squadron.
- Nye, James Harvey, private; mustered out with company.
- Patton, James A., private, mustered out with company.
- *Piper, George T., private, mustered out with company.
- *Powers, Edward, private; mustered out with company.
- Reminsnyder, Junius, private; mustered out with company.
- Roup, Daniel P., private; mustered out with company.
- Rodarmel, James, private; mustered out with company.
- Rimert, David P., private; mustered out with company.
- *Shuler, John H., private; mustered out with company.
- Sanders, William, private; mustered out with company.
- Stenningér, Emanuel H., private; mustered out with company.
- Shellinberger, Willoby, private; mustered out with company.
- *Slaght, Mark, private; mustered out with company.
- Sees, Robert, private; mustered out with company.
- *Stitzel, William, private; mustered out with company.
- *Starr, Chas. E., private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; absent in hospital at muster-out.
- *Stadtler, Chas. E., private; mustered out with company.
- Smith, Peter M., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Dec. 24, 1862.
- *Troup, Benjamin, private; mustered out with company.
- Truckenmiller, Valentine S., private; mustered out with company.
- *Troxel, James P., private; absent, sick, at muster-out.
- Truckenmiller, Jacob E., private; died Dec. 15, 1862, of wounds received at Fredericksburg.
- Ulrich, John, private; mustered out with company.
- *Wenrich, Wellington, private; mustered out with company.
- Worrell, Thomas A., private; mustered out with company.
- Watson, William W., private; mustered out with company.
- *Wykoff, Samuel, private; mustered out with company.
- Wendell, Thomas P., private; mustered out with company.
- Wertz, George, private; wounded at Fredericksburg; absent, in hospital, at muster-out.
- Waldron, Philip H., private; mustered out with company.
- Welliver, Jeremiah, private; wounded at Fredericksburg; discharged on surgeon's certificate, April 10, 1863.
- Yagle, Zachariah, private; mustered out with company.
- Young, Theodore F., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Feb. 24, 1863.

COMPANY C.

- Thomas R. Jones, captain; mustered out with company.
- Joseph L. Reader, first lieutenant; resigned Nov. 29, 1862.
- *Andrew N. Brice, first lieutenant; promoted from second lieutenant, Jan. 1, 1863.
- David M. Nesbit, sergeant; mustered out with company.
- *Owen M. Fowler, sergeant; promoted from sergeant to second lieutenant, March 1, 1863.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star.

- Lott B. Weitzel, sergeant; mustered out with company.
 George W. Arnold, sergeant, promoted from first corporal, Sept. 14, 1862.
 Ephraim Foulk, sergeant; promoted from corporal, Aug. 26, 1862.
 William H. Beck, sergeant; on detached service at commissary headquarters.
 Jesse Hilbourn, corporal; promoted to corporal, March 1, 1863.
 Samuel Bower, corporal; mustered out with company.
 Irvin M. Rockefeller, corporal; mustered out with company.
 *John Bucher, corporal; discharged on surgeon's certificate, March 12, 1863.
 Silas R. Snyder, corporal; mustered out with company.
 Samuel Swenk, corporal; mustered out with company.
 Solomon Klase, corporal; promoted to corporal, Sept. 14, 1862.
 *Charles P. Seasholtz, corporal; promoted to corporal, Sept. 14, 1862.
 Auchmuty, Jesse M., private; mustered out with company.
 *Bastress, Milton, private; mustered out with company.
 Beck, Edward L., private; mustered out with company.
 *Barnhart, Benjamin F., private; mustered out with company.
 *Bird, Sylvanus A., private; mustered out with company.
 *Bittenbender, Cyrus A., private; mustered out with company.
 Blair, John, private; mustered out with company; re-enlisted and killed in Red River Expedition.
 *Boughner, John R., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Dec. 26, 1862.
 Campbell Azeria, private; promoted to corporal, March 13, 1863.
 Cooper, John L., private; mustered out with company.
 Culp, Charles H., private; mustered out with company.
 *Conrad, Joseph, private; mustered out with company.
 Dawson, John, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Feb. 16, 1863.
 Dill, Hiram H., private; mustered out with company.
 Evert, William A., private; on detached service.
 Evert, John, private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Ernest, John, private; mustered out with company; re-enlisted in Seventh Cavalry, was wounded, and died from wounds.
 *Eckman, John E., private; promoted to corporal, March 1, 1863; re-enlisted and returned home.
 *Eley, Wesley, private; mustered out with company.
 Erdman, John K., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Feb. 15, 1863.
 Ervin, George D., private; mustered out with company.
 Fisher, Peter, private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Farley, George, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate; re-enlisted and died in service.
 Farrow, Kimber C., musician; mustered out with company.
 Forrister, James E., musician; mustered out with company.
 *Fox, John, private; mustered out with company.
 Good William, private; mustered out with company.
 Haas, Adam S., private; mustered out with company.
 *Haas, John K., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Feb. 12, 1863.
 *Hammer, Frederick, private; mustered out with company.
 Harris, James, private; promoted to corporal.
 Hepner, Jacob, private; mustered out with company.
 *Hoofman, John, private; mustered out with company.
 Hoover, Francis, private; mustered out with company; re-enlisted.
 Hoover, Eli, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Hoey, Samuel J., private; mustered out with company.
 Hunt, James, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Johnson, Thomas, private; mustered out with company.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star.

- Koppenhafer, Joel, private; mustered out with company.
 Koppenhafer, Tobias, private; mustered out with company.
 *Koppenhafer, Jeremiah, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Sept. 29, 1862.
 Kashner, Daniel, private; mustered out with company.
 *Keiser, Jacob, private; mustered out with company.
 Kincaid, James, private; mustered out with company.
 Kulp, Abraham, private; mustered out with company.
 *Kulp, Peter, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 *Kulp, Moses, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Lavan, George, private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Lyon, James W., private; mustered out with company.
 Mowry, Jacob, private; accidentally shot himself; died near Sharpsburg; buried in National Cemetery, Antietam.
 Martz, George, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Dec. 26, 1862.
 *Maguire, William, private; mustered out with company.
 *Mettler, Charles H., private; mustered out with company.
 Martz, Vandine, private; mustered out with company.
 Moore, Harry, private; mustered out with company.
 Myers, Jacob, private; mustered out with company.
 Oberdorf, Oliver, private; died in camp hospital, near Sharpsburg, Md., Oct. 21, 1862.
 Osman, Alonzo, private; mustered out with company.
 Pifer, Daniel S., private; mustered out with company.
 Price, Henry K., private; mustered out with company.
 Reed, Servitus O, private; wounded at Fredericksburg; discharged on surgeon's certificate, March 21, 1863.
 *Reed, Samuel, private; mustered out with company.
 Reed, Jesse J., private; mustered out with company.
 *Robins, Lorenzo D., private; promoted to hospital steward, Aug. 26, 1862.
 Ruch, Samuel, private; mustered out with company.
 *Savidge, William, private; mustered out with company.
 Sarvis, Isaac, private; wounded at Fredericksburg; died from wound at Washington, D. C., Jan. 16, 1863.
 Shipman, John L., private; mustered out with company.
 Shipman, Saul, private; mustered out with company.
 Shipp, Henry, private; mustered out with company.
 Smith, Francis M., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Jan. 6, 1863.
 *Smith, John, private; mustered out with company.
 Strauser, Josiah, private; mustered out with company.
 Stambach, Reman, private; mustered out with company.
 Spratt, Charles, private; killed at Fredericksburg.
 Sterner, Orlandis, private; killed at Fredericksburg.
 *Welmer, George Y., private; mustered out with company.
 Wentz, Peter, private; mustered out with company.
 *Willett, David J., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, April 13, 1863.
 Yeager, William, private; wounded at Fredericksburg.
 *Yeager, Conrad, private; mustered out with company.
 Yeager, Solomon, private; mustered out with company.
 Yocum, Adamja, private; mustered out with company.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star.

COMPANY D.

David A. McManigal, captain; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
David B. Wilson, first lieutenant; commissioned captain May 8, 1862; not mustered, mustered out with company.
D. D. Muthersbaugh, second lieutenant; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
James W. Couch, first sergeant; promoted from sergeant Nov. 5, 1862; wounded at Fredericksburg; mustered out with company.
J. W. Hackenbush, sergeant; died at Frederick, Md., Nov. 5, 1862.
William A. Troxell, sergeant; mustered out with company.
Roland Thompson, sergeant; mustered out with company.
Homer Benedict, sergeant; mustered out with company.
Henry McLaughlin, sergeant; mustered out with company.
George W. Smithers, corporal; mustered out with company.
David Sterrett, corporal; mustered out with company.
Samuel Haffley, corporal; mustered out with company.
Samuel M. Brown, corporal; mustered out with company.
Joseph T. Rothrock, corporal; mustered out with company.
Adam R. Weidman, corporal; mustered out with company.
Levi A. Mentzer, corporal; mustered out with company.
Roswell S. Parker, corporal; promoted sergeant-major, Aug. 23, 1862.
Harrison J. Miller, corporal; died at Frederick, Md., Nov. 18, 1862.
Samuel E. Long, musician; mustered out with company.
Franklin W. Smith, musician; mustered out with company.
Arnold, Henry, private; mustered out with company.
Arnold, John T. private; mustered out with company.
Alexander, Wm. F., private; mustered out with company.
Alexander, Eliphs, private; mustered out with company.
Alexander, Wm. B., private; mustered out with company.
Anderson, Wm. R., private; mustered out with company.
Aults, Ambrose M., private; promoted sergt. major, Jan. 10, 1863.
Bell, Wm. R., private; mustered out with company.
Barger, Wm. J., private; mustered out with company.
Benny, Wm., private; mustered out with company.
Bratton, Harvey, A., private; mustered out with company.
Beaver, James, private; mustered out with company.
Bower, James H., private; died March 29, 1863.
Conley, Josiah H., private; mustered out with company.
Conley, Martin, private; mustered out with company.
Castner, James S., private; mustered out with company.
Crissman, John A., private; mustered out with company.
Davis, George, private; mustered out with company.
Dill, Daniel, private; died Jan. 17, 1863.
Dippery, George K., private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
Files, Abram, private; mustered out with company.
Ford, Ebenezer R., private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
Greer, Samuel M., private; mustered out with company.
Galbraith, John M., private; mustered out with company.
Guthrie, James, private; mustered out with company.
Guiher, Miles P., private; died Jan. 19, 1863.
Hoffman, Henry C., private; mustered out with company.
Hesser, John R., private; mustered out with company.
Hook, John, private; mustered out with company.
Hook, Levi, private; mustered out with company.
Hardy, Daniel, private; mustered out with company.
Hummel, John B., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Feb 7, 1863.

Hacket, James I. private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, April 6, 1863.
 Heister, William C., private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Kyle, Charles E., private; mustered out with company.
 Kemp, David S., private; mustered out with company.
 Koffman, Jacob A., private; mustered out with company.
 Kishler, Abram, private; died April 1, 1863.
 Long, John S., private; mustered out with company.
 Longwell, Samuel G., private; mustered out with company.
 Latchford, David E., private; mustered out with company.
 Landis, Joseph P., private; mustered out with company.
 Lenthurst, Isaac M., private; mustered out with company.
 Montgomery, R. H., private; mustered out with company.
 Mitchell, Allen P., private; mustered out with company.
 Mitchell, William A., private; mustered out with company.
 Mitchell, George D., private; mustered out with company.
 Mitchell, Henry T., private; mustered out with company.
 Moran, William R., private; mustered out with company.
 Magill, Albert L., private; mustered out with company.
 Marks, Charles, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, March 25, 1863.
 Mertz, Edward P., private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 McKlips, Mahlon, private; mustered out with company.
 Orr, George R., private; mustered out with company.
 Ort, John W., private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Parker, Alvin B., private; mustered out with company.
 Price, Jacob, private; mustered out with company.
 Price, Allison, private; mustered out with company.
 Peters, Augustus H., private; absent, in hospital, at muster-out.
 Pratt, George H., private; mustered out with company.
 Ross, James B., private; mustered out with company.
 Riple, William, private; mustered out with company.
 Rohrer, Jacob A., private; mustered out with company.
 Roamig, Noah A., private; mustered out with company.
 Renninger, H. H., private; mustered out with company.
 Riden, John W., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Oct. 27, 1862.
 Robenald, David, private; died Feb. 23, 1863.
 Smith, Hiram, private; mustered out with company.
 Stineberger, David, private; wounded; mustered out with company.
 Smith, James W., private; mustered out with company.
 Stine, John M., private; mustered out with company.
 Stroup, George W., private; mustered out with company.
 Stahl, George W., private; mustered out with company.
 Shank, David, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, date unknown.
 Smith, Joseph H., private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Wagoner, Joseph H., private; wounded at Fredericksburg; mustered out with company.
 Walters, William, private; mustered out with company.
 Witherow, William P., private; mustered out with company.
 Wilson, George W., private; mustered out with company.

COMPANY E.

*Isaiah B. Davis, captain; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
 *William A. Bruner, first lieutenant; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star.

- *William H. Wolfe, first lieutenant; promoted from second lieutenant Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
- *Leander M. Morton, second lieutenant; promoted from first sergeant Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
- *John Peterman, first sergeant; promoted from sergeant Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
- *Elias Bart, sergeant; mustered out with company.
- *Henry J. Heinan, sergeant; promoted from corporal Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
- *John H. Easton, sergeant; promoted from corporal, Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
- *Samuel Logan, sergeant; mustered out with company.
- Warren F. Brenizer, sergeant; discharged on surgeon's certificate, January, 1863.
- William A. Straub, corporal; promoted to corporal; mustered out with company.
- W. B. Chamberlain, corporal; mustered out with company.
- William H. Tagert, corporal; mustered out with company.
- Martin L. Ruthraff, corporal; mustered out with company.
- Ephraim Hester, corporal; mustered out with company.
- *William Angstadt, corporal; promoted to corporal Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
- *Curren Cahill, corporal; promoted to corporal Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
- Jos. R. Bright, corporal; mustered out with company.
- John Logan, musician; mustered out with company.
- Charles F. Burns, musician; mustered out with company.
- *Aicher, Isadore A., private; mustered out with company.
- *Arbeiter, Julius, private; mustered out with company.
- *Augeny, Martin F., private; mustered out with company.
- *Bogert, James W., private; mustered out with company.
- Burnman, James, private; mustered out with company.
- *Bartholomew, James, private; mustered out with company.
- Brooks, Thomas, private; mustered out with company.
- *Brous, Edward, private; mustered out with company.
- Blair, Isaiah B., private; mustered out with company.
- *Bogle, David F., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Oct. 5, 1862.
- Byerly, Samuel, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, date unknown.
- Bruner, James H., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, March 24, 1863.
- Chapin, Alfred B., private; mustered out with company.
- *Dotts, Andrew, private; mustered out with company.
- Eisele, Charles, private; mustered out with company.
- Eisele, Philip, private; mustered out with company.
- *Everett, Thomas, private; mustered out with company.
- Everett, Daniel, private; died at Falmouth, Va., Dec. 28, 1862.
- Fagely, Benjamin, private; mustered out with company.
- *Fisher, William A., private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
- *Follmer, Philip H., private; mustered out with company.
- Fisher, A. J., private; mustered out with company.
- Ganby, Reese D., private; mustered out with company.
- *Gaskins, Henry J., private; mustered out with company.
- *Gibson, William, private; mustered out with company.
- Hause, David B., private; mustered out with company.
- Huntzicker, William, private; mustered out with company.
- *Hulsizer, John M., private; mustered out with company.
- Huhn, John, private; mustered out with company.
- Halsey, James, private; died at Falmouth, Va., Jan. 5, 1863.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star.

- *Hause, Franklin, private; deserted Oct. 17, 1862.
 Irwin, Samuel J., private; mustered out with company.
 Irwin, Andrew F., private; mustered out with company.
 Kramm, Reuben H., private; mustered out with company.
 Kutz, David E., private; mustered out with company.
 Kint, Charles, private; mustered out with company.
 *Kieffer, David, private; mustered out with company.
 Krauser, Charles B., private; mustered out with company.
 Kramm, David J., private; missing in action at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Kepler, George W., private; died at Aquia Creek, Va., Dec. 24, 1862.
 Leisenring, William H., private; mustered out with company.
 Leinbach, Jeremiah, private; mustered out with company.
 Longmore, R. M., private; mustered out with company.
 Leiser, Phineas, private; mustered out with company.
 *Machamer, William, private; mustered out with company.
 Murphy, James, private; mustered out with company.
 Miller, Robert, private; mustered out with company.
 Mathias, Charles, private; mustered out with company.
 *Meixel, Jacob, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Feb. 17, 1863.
 Miller, Samuel M., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, date unknown.
 *Montgomery, James, private; deserted Aug. 16, 1862.
 *McCutcheon, James, private; mustered out with company.
 *McGinnis, John, private; mustered out with company.
 *Newberry, Henry, private; mustered out with company.
 *Newberry, Isaac, private; mustered out with company.
 *Overpeck, George W., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Oct. 10, 1862.
 Peeler, Wellington, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Nov. 28, 1862.
 Rissell, Charles M., private; mustered out with company.
 *Ritter, James M., private; mustered out with company.
 Rantz, John W., private; mustered out with company.
 Richalderfer, G. W., private; absent at muster-out.
 Runkle, William A., private; mustered out with company.
 Rissell, Daniel, private; mustered out with company.
 Smith, Jacob, private; mustered out with company.
 Spotts, William, private; mustered out with company.
 *Strine, Matthias, private; mustered out with company.
 *Sheetz, George C., private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
 Schock, Levi B., private; wounded and missing in action at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 *Shadman, Samuel, private; mustered out with company.
 *Sweitzer, Thomas H., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Oct. 14, 1862.
 *Straub, Joseph, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Nov. 20, 1862.
 Smith, Jesse, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Jan. 14, 1863.
 *Sommers, John A., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, date unknown.
 Straub, John B., private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Smith, Jacob, private; deserted Aug. 15, 1862.
 Trego, William H., private; mustered out with company.
 Trego, John K., private; mustered out with company.
 Wertman, William, private; mustered out with company.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star.

- *Wortz, Joseph, private; captured at Chancellorsville, Va., May 3, 1863; mustered out with company.
- *Walbon, Henry, private; mustered out with company.
- *Watson, Curtis B., private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.

COMPANY F.

- George W. Ryan, captain; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
- *Lewis Miller, captain; promoted from first lieutenant, Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
- *Frank W. Keller, first lieutenant; promoted from first sergeant, Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
- *Jeremiah Snyder, second lieutenant; discharged Sept. 30, 1862.
- M. L. Wagenseller, second lieutenant; promoted from sergeant, Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
- John S. Burkhardt, first sergeant; promoted from corporal, Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
- *Theophilus Swinefort, sergeant; mustered out with company.
- *W. H. Gemberling, sergeant; promoted from private, Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
- Sephâres S. Schoch, sergeant; promoted from private, Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
- John H. Louis, sergeant; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
- John Gardner, sergeant; died Dec. 15, 1862, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
- William N. Keister, corporal; mustered out with company.
- *Henry Barbin, corporal; mustered out with company.
- *S. M. Hendricks, corporal; mustered out with company.
- *Joseph S. Glover, corporal; mustered out with company.
- John J. Gundrum, corporal; mustered out with company.
- *Henry Steininger, corporal; mustered out with company.
- Calvin J. Schock, corporal; mustered out with company.
- Calvin J. Smith, corporal; mustered out with company.
- *Henry W. Mattis, corporal; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Feb. 19, 1863.
- *Jer. Mohney, musician; mustered out with company.
- Henry E. Richter, musician; mustered out with company.
- *Artley, Francis, private; mustered out with company.
- *Arbogast, Jacob, private; mustered out with company.
- Blett, Phares, private; mustered out with company.
- Boyer, Edward K., private; mustered out with company.
- *Beaver, Absalom, private; mustered out with company.
- *Benfer, Henry W., private; mustered out with company.
- Bachman, Benjamin, private; mustered out with company.
- *Boreman, Elias, private; mustered out with company.
- *Buffington, Edward L., private; mustered out with company.
- Beisble, John W., private; mustered out with company.
- Boyer, William M., private; mustered out with company.
- Bishop, Ner., private; mustered out with company.
- Bollinger, John, private; died Jan. 22, 1863, of wounds received at Fredericksburg.
- Charles, Henry F., private; mustered out with company.
- *Curns, William M., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Oct. 27, 1862.
- *Erb, Jacob J., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Jan. 26, 1863.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star.

- Fisher, Martin L., private; mustered out with company.
- *Gibbs, James, private; mustered out with company.
- Gardner, Matthew B., private; mustered out with company.
- *Gemberling, G. W., private; mustered out with company.
- *Greiner, John P., private; mustered out with company.
- *Gilbert, John, private; mustered out with company.
- *Getz, Henry, private; mustered out with company.
- *Getz, David, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862, absent at muster-out.
- *Greiner, George G., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Sept. 29, 1862.
- Hendricks, Jac., private; mustered out with company.
- Heater, William, private; mustered out with company.
- *Howell, John M., private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
- *Howell, Ephraim, private; mustered out with company.
- *Hackenberg, George E., private; mustered out with company.
- Houswerth, Wellington, private; mustered out with company.
- Houswerth, John J., private; mustered out with company.
- *Hagerty, John, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
- Harmon, Enos H., private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
- Hoot, Samuel K., private; mustered out with company.
- Haupt, Galen, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Jan. 5, 1863.
- Jarret, Perry, private; mustered out with company.
- Keller, William, private; mustered out with company.
- Kline, George A., private; captured at Chancellorsville, Va., May 3, 1863; mustered out with company.
- Knapp, Paul H., private; mustered out with company.
- *Kempfer, David H., private; mustered out with company.
- Kline, Jackson W., private; died at Washington, Nov. 29, 1862; buried in Military Asylum Cemetery, D. C.
- Koch, Samuel, private; killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
- *Long, Jeremiah, private; mustered out with company.
- Lose, Benjamin F., private; missing in action at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
- Laudenslager, D. W., private; mustered out with company.
- Miller, Alfred F., private; mustered out with company.
- Mull, Henry, private; mustered out with company.
- Martin, George, private; mustered out with company.
- Musser, George A., private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
- Musser, James, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
- Minium, Elias C., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Sept. 29, 1862.
- Miller, Henry J., private; died Sept. 9, 1862, at Camp Ward, Va.
- McBay, John W., private; died Nov. 18, 1862, at Frederick, Md.
- Row, Martin W., private; missing in action at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
- Row, William H., private; mustered out with company.
- Roush, Jairus, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
- Renninger, H. H., private; mustered out with company.
- *Renninger, Henry, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
- Rahmstine, John, private; mustered out with company.
- Renninger, Jonas, private; mustered out with company.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star,

- Renninger, Abraham, private; died Jan. 2, 1863, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
- Snyder, Samuel, private; mustered out with company.
- *Schive, David G., private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
- *Snyder, Jacob P., private; mustered out with company.
- Smith, Samuel, private; mustered out with company.
- *Schroyer, Henry, private; mustered out with company.
- Stahlnecker, John, private; mustered out with company.
- Spaid, Robert, private; mustered out with company.
- *Spahr, John, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; absent at hospital at muster-out.
- Stroub, Jacob J., private; mustered out with company.
- Smith, James P., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Feb. 21, 1863.
- *Teats, Edmund F., private; captured at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
- *Treaster, Elias, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Sept. 19, 1862.
- *Winkleman, Jacob P., private; mustered out with company.
- *Wagner, Abram, private; mustered out with company.
- *Weipert, Henry, private; mustered out with company.
- Wagner, John F., private; died at Brooks Station, Va., May 11, 1863.

COMPANY G.

- *Charles B. Davis, captain; mustered out with company.
- *James M. Wood, first lieutenant; mustered out with company.
- George W. Jack, second lieutenant; mustered out with company.
- *Talma F. Averill, first sergeant; prisoner from May 5-May 22, 1863; mustered out with company.
- *William Russell, sergeant; mustered out with company.
- Philip Hoffman, sergeant; mustered out with company.
- Alfred B. Bradley, sergeant; promoted from corporal, Dec. 10, 1862; mustered out with company.
- David R. Keaster, sergeant; promoted from private, Dec. 10, 1862; mustered out with company.
- George W. Rathmell, corporal; mustered out with company.
- Josiah Hayes, corporal; mustered out with company.
- Thomas Eagins, corporal; mustered out with company.
- Joseph F. Espenshade, corporal; mustered out with company.
- *William R. Logan, corporal; promoted to corporal, Dec. 10, 1862; mustered out with company.
- Thomas O. Harris, corporal; promoted to corporal, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
- Frank Welshance, corporal; promoted to corporal, Jan. 28, 1863; mustered out with company.
- Joseph T. Long, corporal; promoted to corporal, April 14, 1863; mustered out with company.
- *John F. Hoffman, musician; mustered out with company.
- *David R. Griffith, musician; mustered out with company.
- *Apker, Robert, private; prisoner from May 5-May 22, 1863; mustered out with company.
- *Brewer, Franklin, private; mustered out with company.
- *Boyd, James, private; mustered out with company.
- Ball, William, private; mustered out with company.
- *Burkhart, Frederick, private; mustered out with company.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star.

- Belford, David, private; mustered out with company.
 Betts, Ellis, private; mustered out with company.
 Bender, James, private; mustered out with company.
 Bussler, Abraham, private; died at Washington, D. C., Jan. 24, 1863.
 Bush, Adolf, private; died at Washington, D. C., Dec. 29, 1862.
 Bennett, Ellis, private; died at Stoneman's Switch, Jan. 2, 1863.
 Bender, Jacob F., private; died at Washington, D. C., Feb. 20, 1863.
 Beegle, Jackson E., private; died at camp, Dec. 10, 1862.
 Bennett, Asher D., private; deserted Aug. 19, 1862.
 *Campbell, Alfred, private; mustered out with company.
 *Covert, Samuel, private; mustered out with company.
 Crawford, Joseph, wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
 *Crawford, Charles P., private; mustered out with company.
 *Cook, John F., private; mustered out with company.
 Donnell, Charles, private; prisoner from May 5-May 22, 1863; mustered out with company.
 *Duell, Albert, private; mustered out with company.
 Divers, Joseph, private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Ferron, William H., private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Foust, David R., private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
 Fiser, John A., private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
 Garman, George J., private; mustered out with company.
 Gottschall, Solomon, private; mustered out with company.
 Gottschall, Charles, private; mustered out with company.
 *Gross, Edward, private; mustered out with company.
 *Gray, John, private; prisoner from May 5-May 22, 1863; mustered out with company.
 Heiveley, John H., private; mustered out with company.
 Huett, Jefferson, private; mustered out with company.
 Henry, John M., private; died at Stoneman's Switch, Va., Jan. 5, 1863.
 *Hoffman, James, private; died at Stoneman's Switch.
 Jackson, Stephen, private; mustered out with company.
 Jackson, George F., private; mustered out with company.
 Kantner, Albert, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Jan. 22, 1863.
 *Kilton, Robert D., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Jan. 29, 1863.
 Lehman, William, private; mustered out with company.
 Lentz, Adam, private; mustered out with company.
 Lentz, William, private; mustered out with company.
 *Lavo, Franklin, private; mustered out with company.
 *Levan, John, private; mustered out with company.
 *Laylon, James H., private; mustered out with company.
 Lilly, Simon, private; mustered out with company.
 *Laylon, David R., private; mustered out with company.
 *Longan, John, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
 March, Thomas, private; mustered out with company.
 Meyers, John, private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Miller, Robert R., private; mustered out with company.
 Moyer, Daniel, private; mustered out with company.
 Mann, David, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
 Miller, John H., private; mustered out with company.
 Neyhart, Alva R., private; mustered out with company.
 Neyhart, Artenius, private; mustered out with company.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star.

- *Oliver, John C., private; accidentally wounded, Aug. 28, 1862; mustered out with company.
 Page, Tyrus, private; died at Alexandria, Va., July 5, 1863.
 Piatt, Joseph G., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Nov. 24, 1862.
 *Renninger, G. P., private; mustered out with company.
 Rush, John D., private; prisoner from May 5-May 22, 1863; mustered out with company.
 Reader, George W., private; prisoner from May 5-May 22, 1863; mustered out with company.
 Shaffer, Pharon, private; mustered out with company.
 Sweeley, William, private; mustered out with company.
 Saybolt, George R., private; mustered out with company.
 Sweet, Henry B., private; mustered out with company.
 Stachl, Henry, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, April 16, 1863.
 Sarvey, John H., private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Stonecypher, Samuel, private; died at Washington, D. C., Jan. 2, 1863.
 Thomas, Bird C., private; mustered out with company.
 Tanner, Benjamin F., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, April 16, 1863.
 Warren, Frederick, private; mustered out with company.
 *Willits, Charles W., private; mustered out with company.
 *Wolf, Enos G., private; mustered out with company.
 Welshans, Henry B., private; mustered out with company.
 *Waldron, John, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
 Walters, James, private; mustered out with company.
 Wolf, Thomas, private; wounded and missing at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 Vernon, George W., private; deserted Aug. 19, 1862.
 Youngman, A. P., private; prisoner from May 5-May 22, 1863; mustered out with company.
 Young, John, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; died at Washington, D. C., Dec. 20, 1862.

COMPANY H.

- Benjamin F. Keefer, captain; mustered out with company.
 Robert S. Maxwell, first lieutenant; died at Falmouth, Va., Dec. 11, 1862.
 *De La Green, first lieutenant; wounded at Fredericksburg; promoted from second lieutenant, Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
 *W. H. Shoemaker, second lieutenant; promoted from first sergeant, Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
 *Joseph I. Painter, first sergeant; promoted from sergeant, Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
 Thomas H. Kistner, sergeant; mustered out with company.
 *William Menges, sergeant; promoted from corporal, Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
 Peter Shuler, sergeant; mustered out with company.
 James Walton, sergeant; mustered out with company.
 Miles W. Paul, corporal; mustered out with company.
 Oscar E. Foster, corporal; promoted to corporal, Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
 Jeremiah Baker, corporal; promoted to corporal, Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star.

- Frank P. Coder, corporal; mustered out with company.
- *Jesse B. Dimm, corporal; promoted to corporal, Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
- *George C. Frantz, corporal; promoted to corporal Jan. 1, 1863, mustered out with company.
- *Peter Kistner, corporal; mustered out with company.
- *George W. Rishel, corporal; promoted to corporal, Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
- William Willits, corporal; died Jan. 25, 1863, from wounds received at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
- William Mohr, musician; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Dec. 2, 1862.
- Artley, Benjamin, private; mustered out with company.
- Artley, Peter B., private; died at Washington, D. C., Sept. 5, 1862.
- Blaker, Charles W., private; mustered out with company.
- Betts, Simon, private; mustered out with company.
- Bruner, William, private; mustered out with company.
- Bastian, Huston, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Dec. 12, 1862.
- Burkhart, John F., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Feb. 19, 1863.
- Berger, John, private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
- Bowman, Wash. D., private; died Jan. 6, 1863, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
- Castleberry, W. C., private; mustered out with company.
- *Conner, Christopher, private; mustered out with company.
- Childs, Oscar M., private; mustered out with company.
- *Christine, Robert, private; mustered out with company.
- *Carter, Christian, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Oct. 27, 1862.
- Duncan, James, private; mustered out with company.
- Dieffenderfer, Frank, private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
- Dimm, Jacob, private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
- *Elliott, John, private; mustered out with company.
- *Ellenberger, Guy, private; mustered out with company.
- Elliott, Robert S., private; mustered out with company.
- Flick, Charles, private; mustered out with company.
- *Flick, Joseph, private; mustered out with company.
- Fribley, William W., private; mustered out with company.
- Fry, Stephen, private; mustered out with company.
- Flick, Stephen, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
- Gundrum, Wilson, private; mustered out with company.
- Gudykunst, A. H., private; mustered out with company.
- Gudykunst, Charles L., private; mustered out with company.
- Gower, Jacob, private; mustered out with company.
- Grant, William, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Feb. 1, 1863.
- Herlocher, Daniel, private; mustered out with company.
- Hill, David O., private; mustered out with company.
- *Huston, James, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; absent, sick, at muster-out.
- Haak, James D., private; mustered out with company.
- Hess, Theodore, private; absent, sick, at muster-out.
- *Hurst, George, private; mustered out with company.
- Hess, Benjamin, private; mustered out with company.
- *Houseknecht, Benjamin, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, March 2, 1863.
- Herlocher, Ellis, private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star.

- Hartzig, John, private; died Jan. 1, 1863, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
- Haak, John M., private; died at Aquia Creek, Va., Jan. 23, 1863.
- Irvine, Albert, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Feb. 13, 1863.
- Jones, Erastus, private; mustered out with company.
- Koons, James, private; mustered out with company.
- Kraus, Edgar F., private; mustered out with company.
- *Laylon, Henry, private; mustered out with company.
- Little, Albert C., private; deserted Dec. 27, 1862; returned May 27, 1863; mustered out with company.
- Moyer, Hiram, private; mustered out with company.
- *Marshall, Jacob, private; captured at Chancellorsville; mustered out with company.
- *Menges, Samuel B., private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; absent at muster-out.
- *Martinis, George, private; mustered out with company.
- *Mackey, James, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1863; mustered out with company.
- McGargle, John, private; mustered out with company.
- Manley, William, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Oct. 27, 1862.
- Montgomery, R. B., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Dec. 12, 1862.
- McCarty, Silas, private; mustered out with company.
- McKean, Robert, private; mustered out with company.
- Norris, Charles H., private; mustered out with company.
- *Painter, Jacob, private; mustered out with company.
- *Peters, Philip, private; mustered out with company.
- Peterman, Frederick C., private; mustered out with company.
- *Quinn, John, private; mustered out with company.
- *Reeder, Merrick, private; mustered out with company.
- *Resh, Christopher, private; mustered out with company.
- Reaser, Amariah, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
- Rodman, John, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
- Rook, Eston F., private; mustered out with company.
- Smith, Isaac N., private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
- *Stead, Timothy, private; mustered out with company.
- Smith, Frederick, private; mustered out with company.
- Shetler, George W., private; mustered out with company.
- Stremmell, Jacob S., private; mustered out with company.
- Shipman, Burtis, private; mustered out with company.
- Stock, Frank, private; mustered out with company.
- Smith, Robert, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Feb. 14, 1863.
- Taylor, William C., private; mustered out with company.
- *Turner, Jacob B., private; mustered out with company.
- Turner, James, private; died at Falmouth, Va., Dec. 6, 1862.
- Updegraff, Solomon, private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
- Webb, John S., private; mustered out with company.
- Worthington, D. R., private; died at Frederick, Md., Dec. 3, 1862.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star.

COMPANY I.

- William B. Shaut, captain; promoted to lieutenant colonel, Aug. 19, 1862.
- Frank T. Wilson, captain; promoted from second lieutenant, Sept. 11, 1862; mustered out with company.
- James M. Wolf, first lieutenant; mustered out with company.
- Albert D. Lundy, second lieutenant; promoted from first sergeant, Sept. 11, 1862; mustered out with company.
- *William Agold, first sergeant; promoted from sergeant, Aug. 12, 1862; mustered out with company.
- H. M. Lloyd; sergeant; mustered out with company.
- *John H. Love, sergeant; mustered out with company.
- Charles W. Nickerson, sergeant; promoted from corporal, Aug. 22, 1862; mustered out with company.
- *J. E. Perkins, sergeant; promoted from corporal, Jan. 1, 1863; mustered out with company.
- Charles E. Miller, corporal; mustered out with company.
- Sylvester Mussina, corporal; mustered out with company.
- William F. Johnson, corporal; mustered out with company.
- *Daniel Bussler, corporal; mustered out with company.
- Joseph Kissell, corporal; mustered out with company.
- *John L. Given, corporal; mustered out with company.
- Jeremiah Berry, corporal; mustered out with company.
- William F. Thompson, corporal; promoted to quartermaster sergeant, Aug. 23, 1862.
- *Henry M. Edwards, corporal; promoted to commissary sergeant, Oct. 25, 1862.
- William B. Hemperly, musician; mustered out with company.
- Andrews, Michael, private; wounded at Fredericksburg; mustered out with company.
- *Bailey, Levi, private; mustered out with company.
- *Beugler, James M., private; mustered out with company.
- Buck, John W., private; mustered out with company.
- Buddinger, Hiram, private; mustered out with company.
- *Bitter, William H., private; mustered out with company.
- *Chilson, Peter, private; mustered out with company.
- *Clark, Michael S., private; mustered out with company.
- Cline, William, private; wounded at Fredericksburg; mustered out with company.
- *Calehoof, Peter, private; mustered out with company.
- Conklin, Myson, private; mustered out with company.
- *Curtis, Samuel M., private; mustered out with company.
- Carpenter, William F., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Dec. 24, 1862.
- Callahan, Dennis, private; died at Washington, D. C., Jan. 12, 1863, of wounds received at Fredericksburg.
- *Dox, Peter O., private; mustered out with company.
- Dixon, William B., private; mustered out with company.
- Essick, Levi, private; mustered out with company.
- Fielder, Albert, private; mustered out with company.
- Funston, Thomas J., private; mustered out with company.
- Fullmer, Aaron C., private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
- Fullmer, Jonathan C., private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
- George, H. C., private; mustered out with company.
- Grow, James, private; mustered out with company.
- Good, Abraham, private; mustered out with company.
- Hanford, Harrison, private; mustered out with company.
- *Herod, George, private; mustered out with company.
- Kehler, William H., private; mustered out with company.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star.

- Kehler, Sylvester, private; mustered out with company.
 Kehoe, Michael, private; mustered out with company.
 *Longan, A. C., private; mustered out with company.
 Lloyd, John H., private; mustered out with company.
 Lawton, Edward A., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Feb. 6, 1863.
 Miller, Henry, private; mustered out with company.
 *Miller, Michael, private; mustered out with company.
 *McNiell, Nathan, private; mustered out with company.
 *McDaniels, William, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Oct. 28, 1862.
 Moore, Grant S., private; discharged for wounds received at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
 McMurray, Richard, private; died near Fredericksburg, Dec. 20, 1862.
 Newcomer, H. B., private; mustered out with company.
 Norton, Edmund S., private; mustered out with company.
 Parker, George W., private; mustered out with company.
 *Pierson, Josiah, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Jan. 28, 1863.
 Rank, William, private; mustered out with company.
 Riggle, George, private; mustered out with company.
 *Riggle, William, private; mustered out with company.
 Riggle, Daniel, private; discharged Jan. 7, 1863, for wounds received at Fredericksburg.
 Rhoads, Samuel S., private; mustered out with company.
 Ramsey, Thomas J., private; mustered out with company.
 *Shadle, George W., private; mustered out with company.
 *Shadle, Valentine, private; mustered out with company.
 *Stoltz, William H., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Oct. 6, 1862.
 Stanchfield, Henry, private; mustered out with company.
 Smith, Richard, private; mustered out with company.
 Smith, James, private; mustered out with company.
 Smith, Joseph, private; mustered out with company.
 *Siegle, Frederick, private; mustered out with company.
 Staver, William, private; mustered out with company.
 Stradley, Richard, private; wounded at Fredericksburg; mustered out with company.
 *Stradley, Archibald, private; wounded at Fredericksburg; mustered out with company.
 Stewart, Abraham, private; mustered out with company.
 Sechler, Hammond, private; mustered out with company.
 *Sechler, Elias, private; wounded at Fredericksburg; mustered out with company.
 Stryker, Henry, private; wounded at Fredericksburg; mustered out with company.
 Staffon, John, private; mustered out with company.
 *Slagenwhite, Jacob, private; mustered out with company.
 *Tinsman, A. J., private; mustered out with company.
 Ulman, L. A., private; mustered out with company.
 Vorhis, A. B., private; mustered out with company.
 Winegardner, Thomas, private; mustered out with company.
 *Wagonhurst, Simon, private; mustered out with company.
 *Wigant, George, private; mustered out with company.
 Wolf, George B., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Dec. 30, 1862.
 Werline, J. P., private; absent, sick, at muster-out.
 Webb, R. M., private; mustered out with company.
 Wolf, O. W., private; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; mustered out with company.
 Yost, William B., private; mustered out with company.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star.

COMPANY K.

Joseph S. Waream, captain; wounded at Fredericksburg; mustered out with company.

*Grant T. Waters, first lieutenant; wounded at Fredericksburg; discharged March 7, 1863.

*David B. Weber, first lieutenant; promoted from second lieutenant March 8, 1863; mustered out with company.

A. B. Selheimer, second lieutenant; promoted from first sergeant, March 8, 1863; mustered out with company.

William A. Nelson, first sergeant; promoted from corporal March 8, 1863; mustered out with company.

William Lochart, sergeant; mustered out with company.

George S. Morrison, sergeant; wounded at Fredericksburg; absent, in hospital, at muster-out.

*Josiah W. Kennedy, sergeant; wounded at Fredericksburg; absent, in hospital, at muster-out.

*William D. Wooden, sergeant; mustered out with company.

*James C. Dysart, corporal; mustered out with company.

*Thomas Cox, corporal; mustered out with company.

*Theodore B. Smith, corporal; mustered out with company.

C. H. Henderson, corporal; promoted to corporal, Dec. 2, 1862; mustered out with company.

William R. Wallis, corporal; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Jan. 30, 1863.

*Robert H. Junkin, corporal; promoted to corporal—discharged on surgeon's certificate, Jan. 30, 1863.

*John Hughes, corporal; promoted to corporal; discharged; expiration of term.

Dallas Fichthorn, musician; mustered out with company.

George Myers, musician; discharged on surgeon's certificate, April 2, 1863.

*Beaver, Samuel, private; mustered out with company.

*Bumbaugh, Jacob, private; mustered out with company.

Bower, John A., private; mustered out with company.

Ball, Amos T., private; wounded at Fredericksburg; absent, in hospital, at muster-out.

Berryhill, Samuel H., private; mustered out with company.

Burns, Alexander, private; mustered out with company.

*Bortell, Albert H., private; mustered out with company.

Chestnut, Samuel, private; mustered out with company.

Cameron, Thomas J., private; mustered out with company.

*Carpenter, Gabriel, private; mustered out with company.

Cupples, Henry H., private; mustered out with company.

Crissman, Potter, private; mustered out with company.

Crawford, Joseph W., private; mustered out with company.

Crawford, John, private; mustered out with company.

Duck, Peter, private; wounded at Fredericksburg; absent, in hospital, at muster-out.

Druckenmiller, John, private; died at Fort Schuyler, N. Y., Jan. 11, 1863.

*Derenwechter, George, private; mustered out with company.

*Elliott, James P., private; mustered out with company.

*Ewing, James, private; mustered out with company.

*Freeburn, George, private; mustered out with company.

*Fichthorn, Lewis, private; mustered out with company.

Felix, William H., private; mustered out with company.

Fisher, Albert, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Jan. 30, 1863.

Finkle, Samuel, private; mustered out with company.

French, William C., private; mustered out with company.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star.

- *Forsythe, Robert, private; mustered out with company.
- Forsythe, John, private; mustered out with company.
- Fleck, William, private; mustered out with company.
- Fisher, Jacob, private; died at Washington, D. C., Dec. 31, 1862.
- *Galbraith, John D., private; mustered out with company.
- Gill, James, private; mustered out with company.
- Gunter, Abram, private; mustered out with company.
- *Ginnifen, James, private; mustered out with company.
- Hawk, William J., private; mustered out with company.
- *Hesser, James R., private; mustered out with company.
- *Helman, Howard, private; mustered out with company.
- *Hughes, James, private; mustered out with company.
- *Harvey, William A., private; mustered out with company.
- Himmelright, George, private; mustered out with company.
- *Houser, Joseph, private; mustered out with company.
- Jenner, John W., private; mustered out with company.
- Kershaw, Albert, private; died at Sharpsburg, Md., Oct. 24, 1862.
- *Loudenslager, Peter, private; mustered out with company.
- Long, Isaac, private mustered out with company.
- Morgan, Thomas, private; mustered out with company.
- *Miller, Charles, private; mustered out with company.
- Morton, Lewis R., private; mustered out with company.
- *Moyer, Israel, private; mustered out with company.
- *Miller, John S., private; deserted Sept. 16, 1862.
- *McCullough, John, private; mustered out with company.
- *McLaughlin, James V., private; mustered out with company.
- McKinstry, James A., private; mustered out with company.
- Noll, Emanuel, private; mustered out with company.
- *Pedin, Alexander, private; mustered out with company.
- Postlethwaite, Thomas A., private; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.
- Richards, William, private; mustered out with company.
- Rothrock, Samuel A., private; mustered out with company.
- Riden, Augustus, private; mustered out with company.
- *Stamm, William, private; mustered out with company.
- Selheimer, Oliver P., private; mustered out with company.
- Swyers, William, private; mustered out with company.
- *Steidle, Joseph, private; mustered out with company.
- Stroup, M. P., private; mustered out with company.
- *Sager, John A., private; mustered out with company.
- Sherman, Henry, private; mustered out with company.
- Smith, James A., private; died Nov. 16, 1862; buried in National Cemetery, Antietam, Md.
- Stauber, Benjamin T., private; mustered out with company.
- Snyder, George A., private; mustered out with company.
- Spigelmoyer, V. W., private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, Jan. 29, 1863.
- Steinburger, H. J., private; deserted Oct 24, 1862.
- Summers, Hosea, private; deserted Aug. 15, 1862.
- *Till, Albert C., private; mustered out with company.
- *Vanzandt, William A., private; mustered out with company.
- Wilson, Alfred, private; mustered out with company.
- Waream, John A., private mustered out with company.
- Wagner, Edward, private; mustered out with company.
- Womer, George, private; mustered out with company.
- Wagner, Jackson, private; discharged on surgeon's certificate, March 13, 1863.
- Yarlett, David, private; mustered out with company.

*Died since muster-out. Those who are noted as dead in the remarks are not marked with star.

REUNIONS HELD.

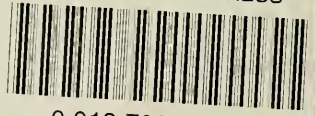
On December 13, 1874, a number of the comrades met at Sunbury and organized the 131st Regimental Association, which met annually at the following places and upon the following dates:

1.	Sunbury	Dec. 13, 1874
2.	Milton	Dec. 14, 1875
3.	Lewistown	Dec. 13, 1876
4.	Watsonstown	Dec. 13, 1877
5.	Williamsport	Dec. 13, 1878
6.	Mifflinburg	Dec. 13, 1879
7.	Sunbury	Dec. 14, 1880
8.	Milton	Dec. 13, 1881
9.	Selinsgrove	Sept. 13, 1882
10.	Muncy	Dec. 13, 1883
11.	Lewistown	Dec. 13, 1884
12.	Watsonstown	Dec. 15, 1885
13.	Williamsport	Dec. 14, 1886
14.	Milton	Dec. 13, 1887
15.	Shamokin	Dec. 13, 1888
16.	Selinsgrove	Dec. 13, 1889
17.	Muncy	Dec. 12, 1890
18.	Lewisburg	Dec. 16, 1891
19.	Washington, D. C.,	Sept. 20, 1892
20.	Lewistown	Dec. 13 and 14, 1893
21.	Williamsport	Dec. 13 and 14, 1894
22.	Milton	Dec. 13 and 14, 1895
23.	Selinsgrove	Dec. 15 and 16, 1896
24.	Shamokin	Dec. 14 and 15, 1897
25.	Lewisburg	Dec. 13 and 14, 1898
26.	Middleburg	Sept. 19 and 20, 1899
27.	Watsonstown	Sept. 18 and 19, 1900
28.	Muncy	Sept. 17 and 18, 1901
29.	Milton	Sept. 17 and 18, 1902





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